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FORUM

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Vol. CVI JULY, 1946 No. 1

*What rôle should the expert play in our democracy?*

# The Expert in Government

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THE problem of the expert's place in government is by no means a new one. Long ago, Plato and Aristotle reflected on the question: what weight and position shall be assigned in the political process to those possessed of special gifts or training? In our times the requirements of large-scale planning, forced on us by the growing interdependence of persons and communities and drastically accelerated by the requirements of total mechanized war, have multiplied the need for experts in government in a geometrical ratio. And the end is not yet. In the chaotic aftermath of war, and in view of the new demands occasioned by international organization, there promises to be no diminution of the need for experts in government. What are the implications and probable consequences of this tendency? What does it mean for the future of political and social democracy?

Since the word "expert" is often used loosely, it is not always clear just who he is. The word is commonly applied today to any specialist who in virtue of intensive training, or long experience, or both, has come to be regarded as an authority in his field of special competence. Broadly speaking, experts in government are of two sorts: (1) technical specialists, that is, the engineer, the agricultural chemist, the bacteriologist or the statistician; and (2) experts in management, administration and human relations.

An expert in government may be a "dollar-a-year-man", a consultant attached to a temporary or permanent agency, or a permanent employee under the civil service. Some of them have "met a payroll", others have not. The latter group, mostly former college professors, are frequently pilloried by politicians and conservative business interests. Witness the "brain-trusters" of the first New Deal and the former professors now in government bureaus. On the other hand, "dollar-a-year-men" are similarily castigated by the liberal and leftist press. It is plain that the lot of the expert in government is not an easy one.

Whatever the merits of these

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charges, it is certain that the employment of experts in government is bound to increase. Today even the least progressive elements in politics vie with each other in advocating social and economic policies which would extend ever farther the range of government. Ever since the age of Jackson, the technological revolution wrought by science and machinery has forced government to take into account an ever new and changing physical environment. The advent of atomic energy and the growing army of experts needed in connection with international organization serve to highlight the problem today. Unquestionably, the experts are here to stay.

Some political soothsayers view this development with alarm and paint a lurid picture of a bloated, strangling octopus of bureaucracy. Such distortions only serve to obscure the facts. The expert is nothing more or less than a professor, a scientist or a business man doing the public's business. Government officials as such are not bureaucrats. They become such only when they do their jobs badly. To be sure, government service poses special difficulties for the expert. But is would be rash to conclude that all experts in government are bureaucrats. Bureaucracy is an occupational disease to which all government officials are exposed, but it can be easily demonstrated that by no means all of them succumb.

The public often confuses the expert with the man of profound wisdom and encyclopedic learning—which is precisely what he is not. Because of the vast increase of knowledge—the fruit of the scientific method and specialized research—the expert is a specialist intensively trained along some one line, with consequent neglect, usually, of other fields. Eminence or expertness in one field is commonly mistaken for wisdom in general. Thus, physicists are called on by the devout to confirm the existence of God; successful business men are elevated to college presidencies; a "great engineer" is elected to the presidency of the United States, with the expectation that his would be an administration both expert and wise. If we may trust the verdict of history, it was neither.

Plato's philosopher-king was to be an expert in "the good" and a trained administrator as well. That is, he was, by selection and training, to be one who could envisage the true good for the people and manage the affairs of state accordingly. Plato assumed that the rank and file are too ignorant and too readily swayed by passion to be entrusted with the decision of what is good for them. So his philosopher-king was to be a man of vision, a practical dictator and a specialist as well in the various problems of public administration.

The enormous increase of functions and services in modern government, as compared with the simple city-state of which Plato was thinking, makes the philosopher-king an unrealizable ideal—quite apart from the moral and political objections which are commonly brought against Plato's paternalistic government. Woodrow Wilson, who of all United States presidents came perhaps nearest to being an embodiment

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of Plato's ideally trained ruler, once remarked, in effect, that in the impossible job of being president of the United States he exhausted his own stock of brains and borrowed all he could besides.

NEW ELITE?

With the shattering of the myth that democratic man can fill any public job came the suspicion that he cannot even govern himself. Jefferson's faith in the competence and judgment of the plain man, it is said, belonged to the days of the simple police state and an agrarian economy. Under such conditions, the untutored citizen was a competent judge of good policy. But since the industrial revolution and with the advent of social planning, there has been such an immense increase in both the amount and complexity of public services that the plain man is lost in the maze of technical details which he must comprehend if he is to render sound judgments on matters of public policy. Some believe they have the answer to this problem by advocating that the people abdicate in favor of the expert; while others claim that history is, in any case, making such an abdication inevitable. Must the people let the experts run their lives for them?

The argument of technocrats and managerial revolutionists rests on an alleged parallel between public administration and the management of private business. With the unavoidable extension of planning and the consequent multiplication of the need for the services of technical experts, an ever-greater premium is placed on efficiency. One hundred years ago the efficiency of government in the United States was of relatively little concern. The lure of a new start in the West bred an expanding social system which tended to restrict government, much in the spirit of Tom Paine when he wrote: "It is but few general laws that civilized life requires, and those of such common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the forms of government or not, the effect will be nearly the same." But with the saturation of the frontier and the successive waves of crisis and depression of modern times, men have come to look more and more to government as the safeguard of opportunity and freedom. And this led naturally to a growing concern with the efficiency of public administration.

It is plain, however, that the analogy between private business management and public administration, whether it be municipal, state or federal, does not walk on all fours. Private business is not democratic in structure. Its standards of efficiency are judged in terms of profit for owners and managers, not in terms of human values or social benefits accruing to the public. The boss-employee relationship in business is the inverse of the citizen-government relationship which obtains in the ideal democratic society. Despite the fact that production is a social process, labor has won a reasonable share in the profits only after it became a pressure group sufficiently powerful to wrest concessions from ownership and management. The crux of the difference between government and business is this: by its very nature

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business is not concerned with human and social values, while the promotion of these same values is the *raison d'être* of democratic government. For this reason the sort of expert élite which is advocated by technocrats and managerial revolutionists could succeed only with a thorough-going recasting of our social and political institutions—in a direction away from democracy and towards some form of totalitarianism.

**THE ROOT**

Any proposed change which is more concerned with imposing standards of business efficiency on government than in making the life of the individual more significant does violence to democratic principles. A simple shift from private to public ownership, or the exchange of our present mixed system for a managerial élite would of itself solve no problems. The faith in doctrinnaire reforms is too often unmindful of the human element. As Marx once wrote, "We must grasp the matter by the root; and the root is man." Government in a democracy is the public's business and must operate by its own standards of efficiency, not by those of business enterprise. The withering away of politics would entail the doom of democracy.

**SERFDOM?**

From another quarter come dire predictions that full social planning, and the increase of "experts and "bureaucracy" which that entails, is the road which leads inexorably to a new form of serfdom. This conclusion rests on insufficient analysis of the place of the expert in a democratic government. The distinguishing trait of democracy is *consent*. Strictly considered, the expert in a democracy is confined to devising and administering of means, or to advising with regard to policy; the framing of ends or the exercise of executive power is seldom his function. There is a line between politics and administration; not always a clear line, to be sure. Politics is an over-all concern with formulating general social objectives and providing and supervising the use of the instruments which are necessary for the realization of ends. Administration is essentially the routine of operating these instruments in the interest of attaining the objectives set by politics. Most experts, excepting those who are advisory to the political process, function at the administrative level.

The question may well be raised whether, in a democratic society, consent must be confined to the political level? An affirmative answer commits us to practices which place democratic government in jeopardy. It is true, no doubt, that the expert must be insulated to some degree from the shifting currents of politics and popular sentiment, *if* he is to function as an expert. At the same time, if this insulation is complete, administration loses an essential bond with the vitalizing public will and the living purpose of the society. Moreover, it opens the door to the development of a potential new power-element in government which could be subversive of democracy, however noble and paternalistic the objectives of such a new élite might be. The old but still serviceable *cliché* about eternal vigilance applies just

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as much to administrative functions of government as it does to politics. The delegation of power to experts provides no automatic assurance of the proper exercise of that power. The logic of power has a disturbing way of remaining the same.

Consent, then, must make its weight felt at the administrative level, particularly in the appraisal of the result. The plain man's judgment is the final verdict on the expert's work. But it is necesary also for the public administrator to humanize and disseminate information relating to his functions for the guidance and education of the public. Such efforts must always run the gaunlet of criticism to the effect that consent is being rigged or engineered in the process, in other words, that the administrator is mixing into politics. Opponents of the O.P.A. have accused that agency of doing just that in warning the people of the consequences of abolishing effective price controls. The real dangers which lurk here are readily held in check as long as there is a genuinely free press. As matters stand, however, private interests and pressure groups are still in a position to state their case more forcefully and persistently than the government is permitted to do. The result is apparent in commonly held misconceptions of what the government is about, and expressions of "consent" which leave many objective facts out of account.

We are only just beginning to focus attention on the techniques by which the expert and the public can communicate with each other. The educational work of the T.V.A. and the services of the United States Department of Agriculture provide case studies of what can be accomplished by a freer exchange between the public and the experts.

Such an exchange between experts and the public also serve to protect the latter from the inevitable limitations of the expert. For, to repeat, the expert is a specialist, narrowly trained as a rule. Preoccupation with one field often leads to loss of perspective, to an inflexible mind and impoverished imagination. Intensity of insight may be purchased at the price of loss of proportion. The expert is therefore not always a good judge of broad policy, or of the bearing of his specialty upon the human values which the community seeks to realize.

The expert, too, is often imbued with a caste spirit which makes him unwilling or unable to test his hypothesis or results by any but the esoteric, professional standards of his fraternity. The people would be badly served if national security were handed over to military experts, economic welfare to economists and social welfare to sociologists, without let or hindrance. "If the ablest administrative management specialists in the country," writes Paul Appleby in *Big Democracy,* "should be substituted for the President and his Cabinet, popular satisfaction with the government would diminish greatly."

Disagreement among experts is proverbial. There are also varying degrees of expertness, which are not always readily distinguished. There is need also of transcending the peculiar interest of each specialty and to see it in the concrete setting of everyday living. This the expert

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is not usually competent to do. But the people are, particularly if they have first had an opportunity to examine the gist of technical issues in plain language. For the plain man instinctively sees every public issue, however technical it may be to the specialist, in terms of it probable meaning and effects in his daily life and that of his fellows. And it is for just this that democratic government exists.

If the expert is to be kept on tap and prevented from getting on top in our present-day complex, technology-ridden society, it is necesary that experts in public life be sensitive to human values and the need of presenting technical knowledge and information in humanized form. It means, too, that a good deal more of general education must go into the training of public administrators and other experts. A successful public administrator is more philosopher than specialist. He must be able to see the relation between the abstract and the concrete and pass easily from one to another in his thinking. He must like people and approach the views of the plain man with sympathetic understanding and respect.

Given experts of this type, there is neither a need nor a logical or historical necessity that the expert be "on top". As government becomes bigger and more complex, it also becomes more highly specialized and more and more requires the services of experts. This is not hazardous for democracy as long as the people have free access to information. While Thomas Jefferson may have idealized the plain citizen to a degree, it is apparent from the recent history of the world that common sense of an informed people is still the best guide to public policy.

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• Senator Bilbo advised his constituents to take the "Yankee money" brought in to defeat him, "wash the Yankee and Communist taint off it. Spend it for your needs. Then vote like hell for Bilbo." (The returns are apparently in from the Senator's "safe constituency.")

• *Sic transit gloria.* . . .

"The dance floor is dusty and bags of rice are piled on the orchestra platform. The signs that says 'Gentlemen will please sing the same song the orchestra is playing' is covered with cobwebs."—Dominador Tombo, describing the dearth of nightclub activity in the Philippines since the G.I.'s have left.

• Frederick the Great disapproved the appointment of a certain general to a strategic post. A member of his staff reminded him that the general had been through 10 campaigns. Frederick replied: "Yes, and that mule over there also has been through 10 campaigns, but he knows no more of war than when he began."

—*Nuggets*

• "Can I live a good Christian life in Dublin on £2 a week?" asked a young schoolmaster who was removing to the Metropolis.

"My boy," replied his Head, "you won't be able to do anything else."

—*Evening Mail*

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*The race is on for Germany*

# Germany: East or West?

## By Wolfgang von Eckardt

THERE is a growing realization in this country that a constructive solution of the German problem is the key to European reconstruction and quite possibly to world peace itself. But there is but little understanding of the Germans themselves and their present complex situation in the limelight of conflicting interests. We still see the Germans as we were forced to see them during the war. We resolved not to show pity towards them, to remind ourselves what the Germans have done in the very recent past. We have taken little trouble in appraising them honestly and objectively since.

To begin with, we felt obliged to believe that the vast majority of Germans have embraced Nazism wholeheartedly and would stick to its ideals even after conquest. When Allied troops entered Germany, they met a stunned and apathetic people. Somewhat ironically our correspondents reported that there were no more Nazis to be found. Indeed, in those dramatic and horrible days of total defeat and utter destruction, the Germans were through with Hitler and Nazism—at least in its outward manifestations. During the last months, the Germans had lived under the most terrible pressure imaginable. Everything collapsed around them. The Nazi bosses became hysterical with fear. No one was trusted. The Gestapo was omni-present, itself haunted by fear and mad hysteria. Those whose nerves cracked, who were guilty of "defeatist" remarks or just a sigh that it should all be over soon, were not only punished themselves but their women and children were also arrested and tortured. "I'd rather believe in victory than walk around without my head" said the Berliners. Old men and children were drafted in the *Volksturm* and sent out to meet almost certain death while the Nazi "bigwigs" stayed back to whip the people into further frenzy.

Goebbels had clearly stated that if the Nazi had to go, they would drag all of Germany with them. And this mad threat was carried out. The last days of the war saw an orgy of insane destruction. German women were shot by their own troops when they attempted to tear down senseless obstacles which would make their villages subject to bombing and shelling. Bridges and factories were blown up, communications wrecked, public buildings burned. And, as the S.S. troops destroyed food and clothing stores in the face of a hungry and bombed-out population, the Germans realized that the Nazi tyrants cared as little for them as for the Poles, or French, or Dutch.



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Their leaders had failed them utterly. The Thousand Year Reich for which many had honestly slaved went down in total defeat. It was all well and good to make supreme sacrifices for the Fuehrer and for a hysterical concept of the fatherland. But the Fuethrer was no more and the fatherland was devastated. But when the Germans told us that they did not believe in the great hoax any more, we shrugged our shoulders and thought them opportunists. If they were friendly, our correspondents wrote they wanted to flatter the conquerors; if they stood aloof, they were arrogant.

Many Germans looked on the conquerors as liberators. The victors brought the end of the war and new hope; hope for relief from the terrible strain of a terror regime which in its last stages had even pervaded the party faithful; hope for security and reconstruction.

For 12 long years the Germans had been almost completely shut off from any outside influences. They knew only what the Nazis wanted them to know. They were starved for information from the outside world and for new ideas. Even cultural activity, before it had ceased entirely under the pressure of total war, had been so tainted by propaganda that it was worthless to all but a few fanatics. The initial friendliness to Allied troops was prompted by a deep curiosity to find out about foreigners and their world as well as the desire for cigarettes and favors. Men and women sat in my office in Germany just to talk, talk freely for the first time in 12 years. At that time every discarded copy of "Stars and Stripes" was picked up at once and circulated among news-hungry Germans until it was worn to shreds. Today concert halls, theatres, lectures, and public libraries have unprecedented record attendance. There is a constant clamor for more books and plays especially from abroad.

## MORAL COLLAPSE

The spiritual and intellectual hunger was coupled with a general desire for guidance. There were more than is generally believed in this country who had waited for the day when the Nazi regime would at long last collapse, but few who had definite ideas on what was to follow. The white flags which were hoisted all over Germany as the conquerors entered were symbolic. There was no general political will. To the frenzy of the Nazi years the collapse was absurdly anti-climatic: there was an inner collapse as well. A collapse of the soul. Politics had brought all this about and people were sick of politics. For large parts of the population, the totalitarian terror had accomplished its aim: complete apathy, dissolution of the individual personality, morality and conscience. Political leadership had been almost wiped out. Many potential leaders who had managed to stay alive until they had participated in the abortive *putsch* against Hitler, July 20, 1944—which was backed by a wide coalition of practically all anti-Nazi forces in Germany —were eliminated in the subsequent purge. Pre-Hitler political orientation, though not entirely forgotten, was largely discredited. A new orientation was almost impossible except for fundamental conceptions of

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freedom and decency. The great revival of Christian faith in Germany testifies to the strong desire for a new orientation and lasting values. But there was no experience nor immediate clue now to translate all this into political action. Nor did the form of total defeat leave the defeated any chance to begin to think of shaping their own destinies.

But the Allies had war aims. The enemy radio said that they would bring democracy to Germany. Here was a goal and hope. Unconditional surrender, the Germans thought, meant unconditional responsibility for the victors.

## SPONTANEOUS REVOLTS

Nevertheless there were a number of spontaneous uprisings against the Nazis in the wake of Allied conquest. Munich liberated itself through the Bavarian Freedom Action. In most German towns there were small bands of socialists and former trade-unionists who formed local committees of liberation, locked up Nazi bosses, made plans to run the community and were willing to assume responsibility and leadership in spite of chaotic conditions. But when the American Military Government arrived, the leaders of the Bavarian Freedom Action and the local liberation committees everywhere dispersed and were often even arrested. Military Government systematically kept down all spontaneous anti-Nazi demonstrations on the part of the Germans. Germans were not trusted; there was fear of communism; the primary mission was to establish law and order. It was a tragic mistake that the near-revolutionary mood during the days immediately before and after V-E day was not exploited but suppressed.

Hence from the very beginning the German working class, which had pinned great hopes on Western democracy, was disillusioned and felt betrayed. It was not given, what German workers thought would be their rightful place, in a new political structure. Democracy de-industrialized and spread unemployment. Many American officials were unable to differentiate between socialism and communism and therefore retarded all trade-union and left wing organizations. Instead there was a marked tendency to lean strongly on upper middle-class elements which would flatter the conquerors.

The general quest for information was met by merely negative actions on the part of the new Western rulers. For months in these vital days after the Nazis collapsed, there were no newspapers, no political organization, no fraternization. The American Army made itself at home, heaped more bureaucracy on the population than the previous regime and practically eliminated all German initiative. No distinction was made between anti-Nazis and Nazis. It looked to Germans as thought anti-Nazis were even discriminated against. German anti-Nazi resistance during Hitler's reign was shrouded in a veil of silence. Many thousands of active anti-Nazis met a heroes' death in Gestapo prisons and could have been held up as martyrs for a better Germany. But the very inferiority complex from which Nazism largely stemmed was systematically perpetuated.

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We de-industrialized, de-nazified, de-centralized, de-militarized. We drove home the gospel of collective guilt of the Germans, which is justified and freely admitted by responsible Germans, but by itself does not show a constructive way out. Many Germans point to the forced expulsion of 14 to 15 million of their countrymen who have for centuries been settled East of the Oder and in the Sudetenland and who now litter the German roads, aimlessly and in unconceivable misery.

**EDUCATION**

Education was started with questionaires and bureaucracy. There were no schoolbooks and teachers available. This dilemma could have been clearly foreseen but was not met with decisive action. Again the measures taken remained principally negative. A terrible demoralization of youth during the war was intensified by the lack of useful occupation, the initial decrees against any youth organization, the black market and the corruption fostered by the occupation troops. Speeches of reconstruction and democracy make little impression on youth. After such a talk from a well- meaning re-educator in Frankfurt, a 16 year-old boy replied that he had heard such phrases since he was a little boy and was fed up with them. "It would be better if you could get me some shoes and see to it that I can take a bath sometime" he added. Thousands of youngsters roam the country; they are the lost children of evicted Germans from the East and those who were sent out by their parents to shift for themselves in quest for food. In a sudden raid on such youngsters at the railroad station in Frankfurt, it was found that 50 per cent of the girls under 21 years of age had venereal disease. These girls live without a home, without parents, without work, without money and without supervision or care.

Only gradually did the initial confidence in Western occupation give way to deep disillusion and hopelessness. None could see a concrete future. All vital questions remained unsolved; the problem of currency, of boundaries, of providing employment within the uncertain limits of permitted industrial revival. Enterprises were not started, reconstruction could not be begun. People even stopped repairing their houses for fear that they would be requisitioned when completed. De-nazification, as carried out, created a large class of "pariahs" of whom 80,000 are said to be in confinement in the American zone alone. Their trial still hinges on the outcome of the Nuremberg trials. In addition, one million ablebodied men are still kept prisoner in the American zone, not to speak of further millions doing forced reconstruction work in countries devastated by Hitler's armies.

The lack of any constructive policy and the starvation diet is discrediting the Western democracies in the eyes of the Germans. Democratic re-orientation, sincerely attempted by many anti-Nazi intellectuals and political leaders, is made increasingly more difficult. An intensive Neo-Nazism and cynical nihilism is taking root. Americans are becoming increasingly more unpopular among these who greeted

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them enthusiastically at first. As one prominent German church leader exclaimed: "Hitler cured us of National Socialism, the Red Army of Communism, and now the Americans are beginning to make us despair of democracy."

**SOVIET POLICY**

In contrast, the Soviet zone is beginning to hold out new promises to many Germans. The East shows a deep interest in Germany and persues a definite, ruthless policy of its own with single-mindedness and vigor.

The first impression the Russians made on the Germans was devastating and caused many remarks to the effect that Hitler was justified in all he had said about the Russians. There was widespread looting, raping and insecurity for all. The first contact of Asia with Europe caused many suicides and a general horror even among those who had so far supported the Soviets ideologically.

Yet, hand in hand with the almost total absence of Red Army discipline, the Soviet Military Government was quick to start intensive German politcal and cultural activity. With German anti-Nazis of all kinds very much in the fore, a feverish, almost revolutionary, new impulse swept the Russian zone. "Victims of Fascism" were now a privileged class. Theatres played to overcrowded audiences. There were scores of excellent concerts, cabarets, lectures and recitals. Newspapers and journals mushroomed everywhere and reached the distant provinces. Political parties were started almost as soon as the fighting ceased and were organized on a zone-wide basis. The same was true of a unified German Trade-Union which was built up energetically new teachers could be professionally while Sidney Hillman prevented a like organization in the Western zones allegedly because the World Federation of Trade Unions suspected the German labor leaders—most of whom had just been liberated from Gestapo prison—of Nazi sentiments. Special attention was given to youth by creating youth councils in every district and by formation of a "Free German Youth movement." The shortage of non-Nazi teachers was overcome by allowing interested intellectuals and trusted anti-Fascists to teach school temporarily until new teachers could be professionally trained.

A centralized German administration for the entire Soviet zone was set up last August. Its heads, as well as political leaders and prominent artists, are treated with every consideration by the Russians. While Americans still treat Germans in responsible positions as conquered enemies, the Russians extend them many special privileges and give them the famous caviar-and-vodka-treatment. (While I was visiting a prominent trade-union leader in Berlin, a huge food package arrived with compliments of Marshal Zhukov.)

There was never much question of German collective guilt in the Russian zone. Big red posters everywhere proclaim: "The Hitlers come and go but the German state and the German people remain." While the Communists and fellow travellers here continue to criticize our military government for insufficient denazification, the German Communist Party openly welcomes small fry

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Nazis and especially members of the Hitler Youth into its ranks. Some Nazis officials who were ousted by the American Military Government now hold prominent positions in the Russian zone.

Initially all this seemed little tainted by Soviet power politics. On October 27, 1945, the London *Economist* wrote: "What had been remarkable in the Russian Military Government so far is perhaps not the extent to which it has transplanted Russian totalitarian methods to Germany, but the extent to which it has refrained from doing so."

## TOTALITARIAN PATTERN

But, as soon as the various organizations and parties had gained a foothold and attained large membership, the Russians began molding them into a uniform totalitarian pattern. German Communists, mostly re-imported from exile in Moscow were, of course, in key positions from the start. The numerically very weak Communists forced a merger with the numerous and popular Social-Democrats into a Socialist Unity Party, which has now been sanctioned by the Western Allies in Berlin. But this shot-gun wedding is only a beginning. The courageous revolt of the anti-totalitarian socialists who voted seven to two against the merger in the small Western island in Berlin indicated the attitude of the socialist rank and file but could not change an accomplished fact. Many prominent socialists who opposed the fusion in the Russian zones and even our sector of Berlin disappeared in concentration camps. Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen were re-opened under N.K.V.D. auspices. But those who join or merge willingly are given preference on jobs and ration cards. At the same time membership in the Liberal Democratic Party or Christian Social Union is made increasingly difficult.

Russian-Communist pressure on these other parties and organizations is less evident but nevertheless extremely strong. The independence of the "burgeois" parties in the Communist dominated "anti-fascist democratic" bloc is only nominal. Important changes in the leadership of the Christian Democratic Union have already paved the way for even closer "cooperation" with the Socialist Unity Party. The "Free German Youth" is also completely *"gleichgeschaltet,"* as the phrase went when the Nazis absorbed all other organizations in Germany in 1933. It has the monopoly over all youth activity including sports.

The propaganda of these "unified" organizations is becoming increasingly more nationalistic. While the parties in the West may not imply criticism of Allied policy, the Communists proclaim openly: "We fight for Germany's unity" and have, in strange contrast to their French brethren, come out boldly for the retention of the Ruhr and Rhineland. Trade-unions, the "anti-Fascist" party bloc, youth and other organizations they dominate, have joined in a noisy chorus: "The Ruhr belongs to Germany and will and must remain German." There is a new wave of nationalist slogans and a terminology which had become familiar to Germans during the heyday of Dr. Goebbels. The call is always for "new banners," for "new drummers to awaken the people"

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and for "new marchers." The party bosses are acclaimed with a wild frenzied enthusiasm reminiscent, as are the slogans surrounding them, of Nazi "Fuehrer" worship. The international character of Communism had been pushed into the background entirely. A new National Bolshevism emerges which appeals strongly to former adherents of the spiritually almost identical National Socialism.

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## GERMAN UNITY

At the same time the Germans in the Russian zone are made to understand that the Western powers, including the United States and Great Britain, are preventing the elimination of zonal boundaries and the centralization of German administration. In a speech to his party functionaries, Walter Ulbricht, Communist deputy leader, charged: ". . . the Allies in the three Western zones are still supporting all the old fascist forms of economic organization . . . the French plan to internationalize the Ruhr is sponsored by German imperialists." American correspondents visiting the Leipzig Fair recently found that the Germans there all believed that the Soviet Union alone is pushing for the unification of German economy. Support and enrollment in the new unified organizations is held as the natural channel for the unification of Germany.

This Soviet strategy reaches out for all of Germany. Despite the Red Army terror, many Germans in the Western zones already believe the Soviet zone better off than their own as the Russians do not publish their food ration statistics. There are constant reports that industry is going on a much larger scale in the Soviet zone than in the West, where it still remains between five and ten per cent of capacity. Some German engineers and specialized workers have already moved across the zonal boundary into Soviet Germany and found work there.

## SOCIALIST DILEMMA

The Socialist Unity Party is bound to have a strong appeal to many socialist rank and file in the West where labor leadership is often aged and sterile. It was formed largely in order to split the strong Social-Democratic Party in the West which is increasingly influential, especially in the British zone. As the trade-unions in the American and British zones are gradually permitted to organize on a zonal basis, they are confronted with the choice of subordinating themselves to the Communist dominated union federation in Berlin or to abandon their fellow workers in the East and acknowledge an ideological gulf. The same is true of other organizations with national interests, development of which was retarded in the West but pressed in the Soviet zone.

The nationalist slogans and totalitarian pattern in the Russian zone will find their desired echo among former Nazis and many Germans with undercurrent Nazi sentiments. If so far the Communists showed up poorly in recent elections in the American zone, we must remember that former Nazi Party members were not allowed to vote. Some Nazis ousted in the American zone received invitations to join the Communist Party in the same mail

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which contained their dismissal. Hundreds of thousands of small fry Nazis have been dispossessed and now see their only chance in accepting this invitation.

Soviet tactics and the propaganda of fellow travellers everywhere help distort the issues in the West. Our zones are flooded with Russian printed German currency. Refugees from the East come across the zonal boundaries in vast numbers and continue to make bad living conditions there worse. Exchange of vital goods between the Russian zone and ours is virtually impossible. Incessant criticism and accusations keep both the British and American Military Government constantly on the defensive. Measures are forced on the Western Allies which discredit them in Germany and which are often never carried out in the Russian zone.

In many instances our policies have played right into the hands of the Soviets. In Germany the Russians let it be known that it was the British and Americans who bombed German cities, not they. The capitalist democracies, they argue, insist on de-industrialization to destroy the German competitor while the Soviet Union needs German industrial products. There have always been elements in the German population, especially in the Army and among the Junkers, who instinctively favored bringing Germany into the Russian orbit and to tend away from the "decadent" Western democracies.

The continued stalemate over the question of treating Germany at least as an economic entity has caused some Western statesmen to tend towards writing off the Russian occupied zone of Germany and to try to salvage the Western zones by some kind of independent policy. Such an amputation would leave all of Europe permanently sick. It would strongly increase German nationalism and poison the athmosphere of Europe. Western Germany would be forced to embrace the Eastern ideology in order to re-unite. We either concern ourselves with all of Germany or we shall lose it all.

Only a sound, vigorous policy of reconstruction in accordance with our moral and democratic principles can salvage Europe and Germany. We shall have to meet the socialist demands that a completly impoverished and disorganized Europe is making today. The Nazis, I believe, gained power largely because of the strong anti-capitalist sentiments of the German middle classes, impoverished by the German inflation, and consequences of the first World War. These sentiments are vastly intensified by the extreme poverty at present and the resulting strong social levelling. Our military government has shown a tendency to lean on the right in order to stave off Communism. But, I believe, the contrary will result: pressure from the right will only push the lower middle class and the working class, which is our best guarantee against neo-Nazism, to the extreme left. Their legitimate socialist desires will win out over their desire for freedom and fear of totalitarianism.

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*Conscientious objectors offer mental patients better care*

# Revolution by C. P. S.

**By Ed Ritter**

Principal of the School for Organic Education, Fairhope, Alabama

GUILELESS of training or experience but hot with zeal, more than 2,100 conscientious objectors hooked keys on their belts and took over wards in 60 of America's mental institutions during the war.

They made their blunders, at times teetered on the edge of failure, but emerged with a dynamic program that is intimately affecting the over-all trend of mental patient care in the United States.

Author-psychiatrist Albert Deutsch referred, in the February *Psychiatric Aid* to "the determined efforts of intelligent and alert youngsters assigned to mental hospital employment by Selective Service" as one of two developments that "give promise of a new day for attendants and patients alike." (The other being a trend toward unionization among state hospital employees.) Strongest tangible expression of this new influence in the realm of institutional care is the vigorous National Mental Health Foundation in which C.O. workers' interest culminated.

It must be remembered from the outset that before and during Civilian Public Service men's plunge into mental hygiene activity other agencies and individuals were also working faithfully for higher national standards of mental patient care. Foremost professional agency is The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, which has been serving that cause for 37 years. The new Foundation's chief claim to uniqueness lies in its having taken root on the institutional attendant level instead of in the medical and social worker professions.

C.O.'s assigned to Civilian Public Service were armed with rakes and wheelbarrows in old C.C.C. camps. Piling leaves, sweeping mountain road gutters and whittling ornamental pegs for benches while the world burned framed the C.O.'s existence in irony. The phrase *work of national importance* (the language of the Selective Service Act's provision for C.O. assignments) was a bitter little joke in the camps. Some walked out of the camps and into prisons in protest of piddling.

At the same time—mid—1942—mental institutions found themselves with less than 50 percent of their needed personnel. Notoriously ill-paid, institution workers were still hurrying from the wards to war industries. So great was the manpower need in the institutions that in June, 1942, Selective Service waived the objections of super-patriotic groups, and put 15 eager C.O.'s, in a "detached service unit" in Eastern State Hospital, Williamsburg, Virginia. Other C.P.S. hospital units opened quickly throughout the



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East—and later throughout the entire nation.

Participating state institutions were required to mainstain the assignees and provide them $15 month for incidental expenses.

In 1944, Dr. George S. Stevenson, medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, said in his annual report to the Committee: "I do not know what we would have done had it not been for the 1,800 Civilian Public Service personnel . . . their contribution is of inestimable value."

**BALANCE SHEET**

C.P.S. assignees entered the mental institution field with two distinct handicaps and two distinct advantages. In every failure and success of the C.P.S. experiment that is to be recounted here, you will observe the underlying interaction among these four factors:

The handicaps — 1) Fellow workers' initial suspicions toward an unpopular and hitherto isolated minority; and 2) the assignees' lack of experience or training in work with the mentally handicapped.

The advantages—1) Opportunity for a fresh, vivid, objective view of institution conditions; and 2) a bottled-up idealism that was released by this desperately sought chance to grapple with a real human need.

The first dramatic outcome of the C.P.S. experiment resulted from the assignees' exposé of inadequate facilities and established brutality in the Cleveland, Ohio state mental hospital. With impulsiveness compounded of imprudence and courage, the C.P.S. men took their charges directly to press and pulpit after encountering what they considered a complacement administrative attitude.

An indignant administration proceeded with the expulsion of eight of the men, and later the entire unit, charging that certain of its members were "troublemakers and obnoxious." The C.P.S. cause was deprecated by evidence that the men had decidedly altered the wording of a "Remember Pearl Harbor" poster in the institution.

But the fire of reform had already been lit in the community, and it burned on furiously after the C.O.'s were back with their rakes and shovels. A grand jury report pronounced the institution "a prison for the well and a hell for the sick." C.P.S. witnesses were called back to help convict a regular employee of assault and battery. Within 18 months of the unit's expulsion, an administrative shake-up had been accomplished and C.P.S. had been invited to send another unit into the hospital. Today a released C.P.S. attendant is employed by the state to help orient new employees at the institution.

A C.P.S. exposé of inhumane practices in the state hospital at Poughkeepsie, New York was supported by that institution's administration. In reference to events at the hospital, Mrs. Roosevelt said in her column (July 11, 1945):

"The superintendent of the hospital told me that they (the C.P.S. assignees) had undoubtedly raised the standards for the care of the patients, and that they had been of tremendous help in disclosing certain practices which existed there and about which he never before could get any real evidence."

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In "My Day" six months later, Mrs. Roosevelt made her commendation more inclusive: "Many other conscientious objectors have worked in various state hospitals; and though some of the Civil Service employees object to the statement, I think it is truthful to say these volunteers have raised the standards of care for the mentally ill. They did their work with devotion and often with religious fervor such as is rarely contributed by the usual paid attendant."

THE RECORD

It is safe to generalize that a vast majority of C.P.S. assignees succeeded in reducing and often banishing violence from the wards on which they worked. There are instances of their initiating recreational therapy with brilliant results. But the record is by no means spotless. Sometimes through weakness of character—but more often through lack of practical psychiatric know-how, individual assignees failed.

In a recent newsletter, C.P.S. men in the Cherokee, Iowa, institution concede: "The frequent denunciations of administrative incompetence which we have made must be balanced by a candid scrutiny of our own deficiencies. Some of us have been lazy . . ."

A C.P.S. Exchange Service bulletin warns: ". . . let's not blow too lustily on our over-worked peace pipes. Some of us abuse patients in the same manner and to the same degree (as do) other workers in mental institutions . . . We are not God's Chosen Gift to the field of mental hygiene."

The number of patients ordinarily placed under the care of one attendant obviates even the most pacifistic attendant's total reliance on sweet reasonableness in getting his patients through their routine. For instance, in a training school where an attendant is obliged to waken 50 boys and see that they are properly dressed for breakfast half an hour later, he cannot argue gently with very many late risers. In explaining this particular dilemma in a letter to a friend, a C.P.S. attendant boasted that he avoided violence by dashing cold water on the boys who refused to get up on time. (His correspondent expressed a hypothetical personal preference for the violence.)

The realistic assignee soon learned the difference between restraining force and violence—e.g., the difference between the steady sobering pressure on the arm and the quick slap across the face. "Among C.O. attendants" mused a C.P.S. Exchange Service note, "the expression *restraining force* has gained ground to the extent that it is becoming a cure-all for the spiritual conflicts a pacifist must undergo when confronted with (certain) situations . ."

Most training schools and hospital administrations have dealt with C.P.S. assignees with little if any prejudice and have admonished employees to regard them as fellow workers in a common job. After becoming acquainted with the assignees, most employees' tolerance has gradually shifted to friendliness. C.P.S. men are made welcome on employees' ball teams and at employees' dances.

High wartime emotions, however,

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were not always governed by administrative memoranda. Seeing C.O.'s in physical safety while their own relatives were in foxholes understandably aroused hot anger—sometimes hysteria—in some employees. In some instances directly—but more often through indoctrinating patients—these few embittered employees were known to have interfered with the assignees' work. As one such indoctrinated imbicile boy phrased it hundreds of times daily, "New 'tendants no good. Won't fight the country."

**EMPLOYEE PREJUDICE**

A climatic incident in one training school illustrates the way in which the entire C.P.S. effort in the institution hinged on the overcoming of this interference:

C.P.S. personnel was concentrated chiefly in—and was given control over—a building housing high grade (moron) men and boys. Many of the patients worked in other departments during the daytime. There had been evidence that some of the boys had been given the foregoing kind of indoctrination.

Two C.P.S. attendants were on duty as the 200 men and boys lined up to march in to breakfast. An attendance instructed a patient to tuck his shirt-tail in. The patient, a muscular young man, refused. The attendant told him to step out of line, and the patient again refused. When the attendant attempted to push him out of line, the patient asserted loudly that no "German" was going to push him around. He attacked the attendant successfully and order broke down.

When the other attendant—the C.P.S. unit leader—intervened to restrain the patient, several of the latter's friends attempted to make the scene a free-for-all with loud shouts of "Get those Germans!"

The unit leader ran the chance of that eventuality, overcame the patient after a fierce struggle and rose to make as impassioned a speech as perhaps was ever made to a roomful of mental defectives.

Pale and tense, he raised his arm and shouted. "Listen! Listen to me!" There was a quality in his voice that stretched a tight, fragile silence over the room. "Is the doubled fist all you know? Well, you've seen me use it for the last time. We came here to help you—to serve you. And we will *not* end up by hitting you! We won't be attendants on that basis. We'll do our best—but let it be clear now that, if there still has to be hitting, it'll be only you who does it."

He lowered his arm, but the silence held. Every man and boy stepped meekly into line. There was a validity in the position that these high-grade patients could understand and respect. A very sick C.P.S. unit had arrived at its crisis—had found a policy—had taken a turn for the better.

On countless occasions, C.P.S. assignees have seen their contributions of recreational therapy and individual attentions keenly appreciated by their patients. Along with less quotable chalked inscriptions on mental hospital walls are to be found such tributes as "God bless the Mennonites!" A discharged patient still urges all passing C.P.S. hospital assignees to stop in his city

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and accept his hospitality. On trial, it has been found lavish.

MENTAL HEALTH

The crowning achievement of the C.P.S. institutional effort is the National Mental Health Foundation. It came into being two years ago as a spontaneous effort of men in many C.P.S. units to learn and implement better methods of caring for their patients. They organized as the "Mental Hygiene Program" in order to establish a clearing house of ideas, publish a monthly magazine stimulating and educating attendants to more alert patient care and to conduct research with the aim of apprizing the public of present conditions in institutions.

Led by Program Co-ordinator, Len Edelstein and Educational Co-ordinator Harold Barton, a few assignees at the Philadelphia State Hospital shouldered the work of the new organization. Convening after their day's work on the wards, these men labored night after night far into the morning. A snow of letters and mimeographed sheets urging ideas and facts began falling on all units. Later, the co-ordinators found the snow blowing from the other direction to the extent of more than 1,100 narratives and documents from assignees in 60 institutions. M.H.P. workers in the units were also addressing church and civic groups on the laymen's responsibilities to the mentally ill.

M.H.P.'s psychiatric advisers include: Earl D. Bond, M. D., Administrative Director of Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Hospital; R. H. Felix, M. D., General Chief Mental Hygiene Division of United States Public Health Service; Samuel W. Hamilton, President-elect of the American Psychiatric Association—and others of equal prominence in the psychiatric field.

M.H.P. established a lively exchange service. When its monthly publication, *The Attendant,* appeared, Dr. Bond called it "an opportunity that comes but once in a lifetime to improve our male attendants." A legal section was added to M.H.P. and all state laws governing institutions were surveyed. Model laws were drafted. The peace churches (Mennonite, Brethren and Friends) trebled M.H.P. financial support to $300 a month. Selective Service assigned two—and then four—full-time workers to M.H.P.

Meanwhile the staff's pleas for support from the far-flung units continued in a passionate vein. Typical letters said:

". . . We plead now for the right to survive in order that we may help our mental patients . . ." And "We want you to know that no other organized group has our opportuunity to produce studies of conditions and needs. No complete picture of the mental institutions of this country has ever been made . . . No magazine for attendants . . . existed before we sought to fill the void. No pamphlets have been made available to . . . the public on an all-out basis. We have the opportunity and the solemn responsibility of producing them. How are the people to be held accountable unless they be informed?"

Finally, loaded with photos and documents revealing conditions as they are in many of our mental institutions, C.P.S. men went per-

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sonally to such prominent citizens as Richard Walsh, Pearl Buck, and Eleanor Roosevelt to seek backing of various kinds—and they got it. The following persons came to be included among M.H.P. sponsors: Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Owen J. Roberts, Arthur Morgan, Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence, Dr. Felix Morley, and Rufus Jones.

**N. M. H. FOUNDATION**

Last winter the organization, with a staff of 11, incorporated under Pennsylvania law as The National Mental Health Foundation. Its *Attendant* grew larger and blossomed out in an attractive new format as *The Psychiatric Aid*. Contributions were flowing in from all parts of the nation. Letter appeals to members of one organization alone netted almost $2,000.

The press was beginning to take notice. Said *Time* January "Instead of . . . emergency workers what (the mental hospitals) got from the 'conchies' was a sustained, conscientious effort that has lifted mental hospital standards throughout the country." Said *Christian Century* (April): "We hope that (The National Mental Health Foundation) will find its greatest support in Christian America." In April, *PM* commended the Foundation's work and made use of an assignee's documentary photos in exposing conditions at Byberry, Pennsylvania. In May, *Life* quoted Foundation documents at length in condemning what it termed "Bedlam—1946", a full treatment of the evils in some of the worst among United States mental hospitals.

Foundation pamphlets were raising eyebrows. They told of affidavits and narratives from eyewitnesses who had seen: "Patients beaten with clubs and rubber hoses . . ., quartered in basement cells teeming with insects . . ., chocked with wet towels until unconscious, left to sit every day—week after week—with nothing to do."

But the Foundation's plan had only begun to materialize. Possible future activities include ounces of prevention for the healthy as well as pounds of cure for the ill: organization of attendants into a professional group; stimulation of mental hygiene chapters in colleges; mental hygiene education through stage, screen and radio presentations; establishments of information centers regarding home care of mental patients; promotion of legislation raising institutional standards.

Just as C.P.S. mobilization led to its beginnings, the Foundation expects C.P.S. demobilization to lead to the spread of its gospel. It expects community organizations to play a larger part in the movement toward higher national standards of mental health. Its last word to released C.P.S. attendants is, in effect, a question:

"When you turn in those ward keys, do you think you're turning in your moral accountability for America's treatment of her mental patients?"

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• The mother of twins came to call on Timmy's mother, bring with her the two boys. Little Timmy stared at the twins reflectively and then turned to his mother:

"Why are there two of him and only one of me?"

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*Concluding part of a movie analysis*

# Is Hollywood Growing Up? — II

**By Max Knepper**

Author and Columnist

NO discussion of the cultural status of motion pictures can ignore censorship. Contrary to a fallacious general impression, there is no federal censorship. Only eight states—Florida, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia—have regulatory laws. A number of cities exercise moral censorship under their police powers, including San Francisco which recently banned *The Outlaw* and Memphis, which last summer banned *The Southerner* for political reasons. A recent decision of the Municipal Court in San Francisco reversed the action of the police and made *The Outlaw* available to patrons in the Golden Gate city. The various state censor boards vary in degree of liberality. Movie makers consider the New York board reasonable; Ohio's which recently ordered several unwarranted deletions in *The Lost Weekend,* is less kindly regarded.

Basic censorship of motion pictures is effected by a non-legal organization known as the Production Code Administration which is a subdivision of the organization formally known as the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc. Colloquially it is known as the Hays Office, though now, of course, it is the Johnston Office, Eric Johnston having succeeded Will Hays as president. Actually, Johnston, his chief censor, Joseph Breen, and their staffs are employees of the producers whose films they censor, yet seldom does any movie tycoon disregard a P.C.A. ruling.

The explanation of this apparent paradox lies in the desire of responsible producers to maintain an acceptable moral standards in their product, thereby averting a federal censorship in the hands of political appointees who might impair or ruin the industry. At the time the association was formed in 1922 and the self-censorship code adopted, threat of federal regulation was pressing. Will Hays, than a power in the Republican Party and an influential Protestant church leader, was hired to head the new association whose strict code of good taste and morals was widely publicized. The establishment of the Hays Office was one of the shrewdest moves Hollywood has ever made. Millions believe that its censorship has legal force, and consequently for the past 24 years there has been little agitation for government control. The mere threat of such interference is sufficient to impel most producers to adhere strictly to their code, onerous as some of its provisions frequently are. Whatever the short-



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comings of the P.C.A., they seem less than the prospect of 48 state censoring boards, each with its view of what constitutes proper screen fare. The differences of opinion among the existing state boards are costly to Hollywood as things stand. Forty-eight such boards would likely result in a standardization of films limited to innocuous stories utterly boring to anyone over 13. It is significant that no critic of the P.C.A. within or without the industry has ever suggested government censorship as a substitute.

The general acceptance of self-censorship is attested by Eric Johnston in his annual report, 1946, in which the following paragraph appears:

". . . There was a time when announcement that a feature picture was to be based upon a salacious novel or stage play aroused a storm of public indignation. Today it is taken for granted that the industry's machinery of self-discipline will function effectively and that basically objectionable elements in such published works will be eliminated in the transfer to the screen for exhibition to mixed audiences of all ages . . ."

Because of the expense involved in motion picture production, it is the practice of producers to submit originals to the P.C.A. for opinions on their suitability for screening before shooting starts. In some cases, the P.C.A. advises that the material in question could not be treated to remove objectionable matter under the Code. In others, treatment is indicated which would render the subjects passable. In many, of course, there are only minor or no objections. In 1945 the P.C.A. rendered 3420 opinions. Of the 581 features reviewed, 59 books, plays, and originals were entirely rejected; 23 were found unsuitable in part, and 47 others, objected to at first, were revised to meet with P.C.A.'s approval.

## CENSORSHIP CODE

The voluntary code subscribed to by all major producers and most independents (though all do not belong to the Association) provides among other things that: "No picture shall be produced which will lower the moral standards of those who see it. Methods of crime must never be shown. Illegal drug traffic must never be presented. Use of liquor except for plot or characterization requirements, will not be shown. Sanctity of the institutions of marriage and the home shall be upheld. Pictures shall not infer that low forms of sex relationship are the accepted or common thing. Adultery or illicit sex must never be attractively presented. Rape or seduction shall only be suggested. They are never a subject for comedy. sex perversion or any inference to it is forbidden. White slavery shall not be treated. Miscegenation is a forbidden topic. Sex hygiene and venereal diseases are forbidden topics. Vulgar words are forbidden. Religious ceremonies must be respectfully handled. No religion is permitted to be ridiculed."

The P.C.A. likes to advertise the voluntary character of the Code. However, this claim borders on sophistry because members of the Association have agreed not to re-

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lease films which do not bear the P.C.A.'s seal of approval, and these members include all major releasing firms except Warner Brothers who do adhere to the Code. An individual producer, or even a single major studio, could not afford to disregard a P.C.A. ban unless he could afford to shelve his product. Except for a few independent theatres who buy directly from the producers, all releases are handled by Loew's Inc. (M.G.M.), Paramount, Twentieth Century-Fox, United Artists and Warners. So long as these companies uphold the Code, decisions rendered under it will be generally upheld.

Despite the rigid language of some of the Code's provisions, enforcement does make allowances for context and method of treatment. For instance, the ban against presenting a minister of religion in a ridiculous or villainous role did not prevent the screening of *Rain,* a play based on Maugham's story, *Miss Thompson.* Most of the evils of society have been depicted on the screen despite the injunctions against drug traffic, liquor, illicit sex and other subjects which might lower moral standards of some spectators. The only taboos so far rigidly enforced are those relating to miscegenation and abnormal sex relations. In the first mentioned case, the prohibition derives from financial as well as moral considerations, as a movie based on the theme of intermarriage between Negro and White would certainly be denied exhibition throughout the South and perhaps elsewhere, even if it were handled by a respected sociological author.

As for the suppression of any reference to inversion on the screen, it is difficult to argue that this involves a serious restriction in the dramatic field. An insignificant amount of literature deals with this subject, and what has appeared as fiction never won much acclaim either among the public or with critics. *The Well Of Loneliness* is probably the most noted novel of this type which is *verboten* on the screen. *The Children's Hour,* adapted to the screen as *These Three,* had to be revised because of the Code. *Trio,* the stage play which involved a censorship battle in New York, could never become a movie, but its loss to the screen would hardly be deemed irreparable.

## EFFECTS OF CENSORSHIP

If all this appears like an apology for the Hays Code, it is simply on the basis of its being regarded as a lesser evil. Censorship in any branch of the arts, but particularly in such definite forms as literature or drama, is a sterile influence. Since motion picture censorship is based on the theory of protecting the immature and irresponsible members of society from possible antisocial impulses, the tendency is to stereotype themes to what has been proved "safe" and to restrict the screen medium to portrayal of innocuous and frivolous topics.

There is a sound argument for the premise that censorship—if the evil must be supported—should be at the exhibting rather than producing end. Theatres could voluntarily agree, or be required by law, to refuse admission to minors at films

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judged unsuitable for immature minds by local educational authorities. This again revives the issue of attaining greater selectivity in products and audiences, in bringing the right film to its proper patrons. It must be accepted that no amount of production talent can satisfactorily bridge the gap between the entertainment demands of a 12-year-old child and an intelligent adult. To censor screen fare on the basis of its possible bad influence on the least intelligent and unstable elements of a potential audience is analagous to restricting the diet of an entire family to remove temptation from one unwell member.

So far we have examined into two major factors which tend to impede the cinema's progress toward higher caliber entertainment, both of which lie to an extent beyond the immediate control of the producer. The third impediment, however, is within the scope of producers to remove. It concerns the use made of talent, particularly that of writers.

Mr. Kenneth Macgowan, formerly a critic on the Boston *Transcript* and now producing at Paramount, made the following significant observation in the *Hollywood Quarterly Review*: ". . . Almost invariably the films that grow out of original work in Hollywood are trash— we may except *Going My Way* and very few others—and the films that are satisfying to a mature mind and mature emotions are translations to the screen from the field of the novel or play . . . It is regrettable that for as long as the movies have existed the really important and satisfying pictures have been drawn from another field of fiction."

Mr. Macgowan correctly states that the studios will handle only first-rate material if it has been published or produced on the stage. Of the 29 pictures mentioned in our previous article as attracting serious critical attention, only three were written expressly for the screen. Macgowan ascribes this fact to the commercial interest. A published work, he contends, can be successfully advertised to the public as a superior ware, thereby helping to guarantee the producer against a loss. It is difficult to accept this as an adequate explanation. The readers of a best-seller of 50,000 copies seem scarcely an important fraction of a potential movie audience of 90 million—certainly not large enough to justify the added cost of say a hundred thousand.

## SCREEN WRITING

In addition to the advertising value, a consideration in producers' preference for published work is their lack of confidence in their own literary judgment and the abilities of their editors and writers. During the pioneering era of motion pictures, the producer or his director often wrote the scenario or made it up as the film went along. William Fox has described how he wrote scenarios for his company for many years. Later on, when moviemakers discovered the potentialities of this new medium and the profits to be made from complete dramas, Most of these, however, although eminent in literature, proved unable they rushed to hire "name" writers

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to adapt their talent to the requirements of the screen. So then producers learned they could buy the published works of famous authors and "adapt" them as scenarios, either themselves or by hiring hacks sufficiently trite and insensitive to do the job. Continuous action was the essential plot requirement, and the jerky phantoms on the screen hardly called for subtle characterization. Dialogue in the silent films consisted only of descriptive titles, generally a few monosyllabic words.

In the course of the industry's evolution, the practice developed of assigning various types of writers to a picture—gag writers, plot men, constructionists, dialoguists, polishers and device men. The uninspired and mechanical output of such a combination must be obvious.

That the prevailing system is wrong is attested by Pat Duggan, story editor for Samuel Goldwyn Productions, from whose articles in the July, 1945, issue of *Screen Writer* the following is quoted:

"Writing does not lend itself to belt-line production. The story which passed from writer to producer, to another writer, to director, to writer, and so on, back and forth all over the assembly line—is bound to emerge with standardized parts and no individuality. The creation of a script is a one-man job . . . There is no reason why one good motion picture writer should not be able to start with the original story and go through the treatment into screenplay."

Happily, the situation is not without prospects of improvement. Mr. Duggan sees a remedy in the fact that "it is the producer's job to select the right man for his story, and this special responsibility calls for some very special qualifications." Who would be more apt to have such qualifications than authors themselves? It is significant to this point that of the thousand active members of the Screen Writers' Guild, 100 are now producers, including such men as Nunnally Johnson, Gene Markey, Mark Hellinger, Joseph Mankiewicz, Ben Hecht, Robert Riskin and Harry Tugend.

It may come as a surprise to some that writers rank far below directors and actors on the compensation and prestige scales. Excepting those who are also producers, top-notch scenarists receive but half the salaries of first-rate stars and directors. Employment tenure is exceedingly insecure, hardly a third of the thousand active Guild members being employed at any one time.

On the basis of the latest statistics, 53 per cent of employed screen writers came to Hollywood as professional authors—novelists, playrights and short story writres. Twenty percent developed from allied studio occupations—readers, story editors, publicity writers. Twenty-six percent are ex-producers, executives, film cutters, or other studio employees of the non-writing groups. Only four percent are screen writers who either grew up with the industry or came in as studio novices from outside non-professional author sources.

Although producers bewail the fact that many authors placed under contract as scenarists fail in their new occupation, no studio except Metro-Goldywn-Mayer has an organized school for the training of

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writers in the requirements of the screen medium. When a novelist is brought to Hollywood, he is shown his new desk, given a typewriter and some paper and left alone. At most studios he is not permitted to watch the shooting of scripts. No experienced film writer is assigned the responsibility of teaching him the tricks of his new trade. He is allowed to read scripts prepared by others. Perhaps he can make friends with one or two successful old timers who will give him some pointers. But in main he has to catch on as best he can unassisted, and chances are when his option comes up in 13 weeks he will be dropped as a failure. Option mortality among writers in Hollywood runs high.

**STAR SYSTEM**

In this respect actors fare better. No studio in Hollyood is without its stock company. Most major studios devote careful training to embryoic acting talent or artists brought from another entertainment medium. Commercially, the star system has proved on the whole a success and producers are willing to gamble considerable money on starlets who may become tomorrow's chief assests.

A very considerable study could be devoted to the star system and its artistic implications, one of which is stereotyping. If a player is enthusiastically received in a certain rôle, his producer is inclined to cast hime in similiar rôles on the assumption—generally correct—that he will be equally profitable in all of them. The only drawback is that the public may eventually tire of the type and will not accept the actor in a different characterization. For this as well as reasons of professional pride, many serious players like Bette Davis have rebelled against being stereotyped. However, the system remains fairly intact.

On the stage versatility is the mark of an artist, but in Hollywood versatility is rare. In the studios the director is a vastly more important factor in a successful production than on Broadway. With competent direction Hollywood can take a radio singer or comedian whose acting ability is slight or nil, capitalize on his radio popularity, and make a picture around him. The first hundred takes may be wretched, but the hundred first, if passable is captured by the camera and canned. On the stage a famous personality, if not an actor, is put in vaudeville. M.G.M. once produced a prize fighter as a film hero, though the experiment was not very successful. But to a lesser degree Hollywood has been doing this for years.

Contrary to a popular impression, movie stars do not rise from the extra ranks. Of the 10 Academy winners with their pre-movie experience listed immediately following, only one, it will be observed, was an extra prior to attaining stellar rank: Bing Crosby (radio), Paul Lukas (stage), James Cagney (vaudeville), Gary Cooper (extra), James Stewart (stage), Jennifer Jones (stock), Greer Garson (stage), Joan Fontaine (stage), Ginger Rogers (vaudeville), Bette Davis (stage). The aspiring actress who plays in little theatres or summer stock has a far better chance of a

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film contract than the girl who packs her bag, comes to Hollywood and signs with Central Casting—if Central will sign her.

No piece of this kind could ignore the unique progress in two art branches which elevate the motion picture as an emotional experience and which give it an advantage over the stage. The camera and the art direction create dramatic illusions which the stage with its physical limitations can never rival. The serious worker in this field will find time well spent in reading Edward Carrick's books, *Designing for Moving Pictures.*

**FILM MUSIC**

Music written for films has become a specialized and increasingly worthwhile branch of the art. Until very recently no motion picture background music was considered worth the expense of recording. Lately symphony orchestras of reputation have recorded music from such films as *Song of Bernadette, Spellbound, Flying Squadron, Four Wives.* This music may not rank with the great classics, but it does have a place among serious modern compositions. Franklin Fearing, professor of psychology in the University of California, found the musical score of *Spellbound* more commendable than the supposedly expert treatment of the psychiatric theme. Many reputable composers are under contract to Hollywood studios and the importance of their work in proper scoring can only be realized when a film is seen in the projection room before the music has been synchronized.

In cinematography and sound recording, Hollywood leads the world, although foreign companies are now rapidly improving camera and sound technique. It is in the choice and treatment of dramatic subjects that Hollywood has failed, if it has failed. But the cultural status of motion pictures cannot be divorced from the context of American culture as it is reflected in all our institutions. The producers have an almost irrefutable argument when they point out that if compulsory education, parental control and religious influences have been unable to raise the public's literary and musical tastes above the welter of the confession magazines, pulps, Sunday supplements, soap operas, hot jazz and jitterbugging characteristic of the day, why should their entertainment medium be expected to successfully assume this responsibility?

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• In a recent post-war show of the New York Financial Writers' Association, Henry A. Wallace was portrayed as an old-fashioned medicine man. After a barker disposed of Wallace's bottles of "universal solvent and restorative," a miserable little man edged his way forward introducing himself as the "common man."

"Well," cried the barker. "Dr. Wallace says this is your century!"

"Good heavens!" the little man wailed. "Have I got 86 more years of this?"

—*Quote*

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*Without legislation*
*the people may perish*

# Atomic Legislation

**By Constance Tuttle**

SINCE August, 1945, the atom has been news; it has also been one of the very important problems of our government.

Radar, penicillin, blood plasma, D.D.T., in addition to the atomic bomb, make obvious the advantages of close cooperation between scientists and men in government positions. The advantages are not only in military security. Financial support and planning by the government can make possible research in needed fields not attracting sufficient private interest and hasten the application of scientific discoveries to daily living. Large scale production of penicillin was a war-time achievement; only infinitesimal amounts, not even enough for study, were being produced before, and the development of atomic power would have taken much longer under pre-war conditions.

The secluded scientist is obsolete. No matter how aloofly he may live, his work affects society and he must work for those effects which are constructive rather than destructive. Government participation in science will affect not only scientists' lives and work but the welfare of the entire country. Scientists, possessing technical knowledge, have in turn an obligation to see that the supervision takes the best form not only for their interests but for those of the country and the world. A growing number of scientists, conscious of their obligaton, is, therefore, campaigning for legislation. Congressional action this past winter reached only the stage of considering in committees two types of legislation. After comittee hearings and testimony, definite bills were evolved.

One of the two proposals is the Kilgore-Magnuson Bill, a plan to set up a permanent organization similar to the war-time Office of Scientific Research and Development inspired by Vannevar Bush's "Endless Horizons." The bill would set up the National Science Foundation, a central government agency to provide for full development of the country's scientific resources. The program includes financial aid to research through government contracts, scholarships for scientific training, maintenance of a register of personnel, and the furthering of publication and exchange of information internationally as well as nationally. The discoveries and inventions resulting are to be made freely available to the public and, if patented, freely licensed.

The National Science Foundation created by the bill would consist of an administrator appointed by the President, upon recommendation of a board. The board would consist



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of nine men appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate and of the chairmen of the divisional committees. These divisions would be for mathematical and physical sciences, biological sciences, social sciences, health and medical sciences, national defense, engineering and technology, scientific personnel and education, and for publication and information. The apportionment of funds through contracts is somewhat limited by requirements that one quarter of the funds be allocated evenly and by population among the states and possessions to tax supported colleges and another quarter to non-profit organizations anywhere. Funds may be given to other government agencies or other organizations.

The Administrator is specifically instructed to see that investigators are allowed full freedom of discussion and development of new ideas and methods. International cooperation by reciprocal agreements for the exchange of information and participation in international research and meetings is to be encouraged.

**THE MacMAHON BILL**

The second bill concerns the special porblem of control of atomic energy and research. The first proposal, the May-Johnson Bill, hastily granting control to the military roused such opposition that it will probably never be considered again. The Senate committee, studying the problem all fall and winter, has evolved a second plan in the MacMahon Bill. That bill provides for a five man civilian full time board to supervise production of atomic energy with control of the bomb plants; the board will be directly responsible to the President. The Vandenberg amendment, tacked on over MacMahon's objection, at first provided for another military board with power to supervise the civilian board and appeal its decision to the President.

The change of the Vandenberg amendment is a striking instance of how great a part an alert citizenry can play in writing legislation. Originally the amendment provided that military authorities would actually set our atomic policies. A deluge of protests from scientific and other groups who oppose military control forced a change so that the civilian board would retain true authority, the military appealing only on military applications to the Secretaries of War and Navy.

The Board is to provide for, and help finance, research by public or private instiutions or persons and to provide for dissemination of basic scientific information. The government through this commission will own all "fissionable material," mines and patents. No private company may produce the materials except in small amounts for research. All bombs and bomb parts will be held by the board and turned over to the military only at the direction of the President. The board is to study the social effects of the experiments and set forth health safeguards for their manufacture and use.

What has been the reaction of the scientists to the MacMahon and the Kilgore-Magnuson bills which propose to set up government agencies capable of exercising great powers?

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A large number of those who are campaigning for good legislation approve the two bills as described. Shortly after the announcement of the invention and the use of the bombs, many of the scientists working on the Manhattan Project organized in local groups; these groups coalesced and today are the Federation of American (formerly Atomic) Scientists. The present group is not made up exclusively of atomic workers but is open to all scientists. The headquarters are in a cubbyhole in Washington; the organization is not yet wealthy and many members are working at their own expense. Groups exist all over the country where there are aggregates of scientists. They are cooperating with the older American Association of Scientific Workers and advocating many of the same points as the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. Besides organizing themselves, the Federation scientists have been hard at work. Their protests, individually and in groups, had much to do with the reconsideration of the first proposed atomic legislation, the May-Johnson Bill, and in changing the Vandenberg amendment to the MacMahon Bill. Their prominent members testified before the subsequent MacMahon Committees, and as a group voiced their approval of the MacMahon Bill to that committee. They have sought increased public information stating their views in a new book *One World or None.*

Why do these organizations approve the two bills and what do they fear and oppose in science legislation?

First, the scientists, especially in the case of the Manhattan Project workers, seek to return to freedom of action and speech with free exchange of information. The secrecy regulations of war must be abolished. Theories and discoveries are made by imaginative men following clues that may sometimes appear as minor parts of another problem. To hold such men to any limited task would be to retard the growth of knowledge of fundamental principles. Much of research information may be, or at first appear to be, trivial, but to restrict investigators to specific questions would be extremely short-sighted. It may be argued that such restriction was exactly the procedure followed by the O.S.R.D. with success, but as one scientist said, O.S.R.D. was only shaking a tree full of ripe apples. The program was successful in applying known fundamentals to practical purposes; it did not advance basic knowledge very far. Such application of basic knowledge should be encouraged, especially where there is social need but insufficient private funds. Both bills propose such encouragement by a provision for financial aid whereever needed. Thus the government in financing research must not hold able men to a specific task so closely as to hinder them in pure investigation.

Free exchange of information is vital to scientific progress. Growth of knowledge is cumulative and will advance by the work of many men. To prevent publication of results of one worker hinders others and makes for wasteful duplication. The atomic scientists found that the com-

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partmentalization system set up by the army in the Manhattan Project and the failure to exchange information actually delayed development of the bomb.

The scientists do not entirely deny the need for security regulations but they want them held to a minimum. Their experience under army control in war-time and the continued insistence of the army on silence is bitterly opposed. They point out that the policy in the long run is actually a danger to national security as it retards the increase of knowledge and hinders the teaching of new scientists who must advance on present knowledge. Moreover, especially in the case of the bomb, any feeling that silence will prevent other nations from making bombs is ridiculous. The basic principles were known and freely publicized in 1940. Even if we tell nothing, other nations can start where we did, and catch up in a few years. The foolishness of secrecy is equally true in other developments. It hinders our own advance and does not prevent growth of knowledge in other nations . Both bills state that publication of results and exchange of information is to be encouraged. The Kilgore-Magnuson Bill sets up a division for facilitating world exchange of information.

Secondly the scientists want to see their discoveries made cheaply and widely available to the public. The spread of knowledge will help. Planned but widespread use of the inventions is also necessary. In the case of atomic energy, the economic changes may be great, and it will be necessary to plan in order to avoid unemployment and hardship. There may be great opposition to change by existing concerns. The scientists fear the growth of monopolies and therefore advocate government ownership of the patents with free and widespread licensing to any capable institution for use and research. Business interests are already protesting as "radical" and "un-American" government ownership of patents and materials. The protection of health and safety necessitated by other inventions are provided for in both bills.

Finally the scientists desperately want to prevent another war. They are trying to tell an often shockingly complacement public that use of the bomb in another war would be an inconceivable catastrophe. The Federation of Atomic Scientists, the Association of Scientific Workers and the Independent Citizens' Committee all advocate international control of atomic energy as the only solution. They thus seek in Congressional legislation a program that will make way for and encourage such internationalization. They feel that national legislation naturally comes first. We have the equipment and the "know how". It is up to us to make the first gesture toward cooperation. We must avoid a national program that will hinder internationalization either through an isolationist policy or through vested private interests.

The protests of the scientists to the May-Johnson Bill and Vandenberg Amendment have been objections to military supervision. It might seem that since weapons are involved, especially the bomb, that the military should have custody, but the scientists feel that military

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control *is now* preventing and would continue to defeat their aims. They feel a civilian commission with military liaison will furnish sufficient security and be much more favorable to freedom and to development of peaceful uses of atomic energy. In the case of the Manhattan Project, the continuation of Army control after V-J day has roused great resentment and has resulted in the best men leaving the Project. It continues with a less able staff. The army has acted as though bombs were the only application af atomic fission. Their fanatic secrecy is not only a foolish hindrance to military developments but it prevents the development of industrial uses of atomic energy and has generated international ill will at a time when cooperation is urgently needed. Many of the scientists would have preferred free exchange of atomic information as a testimony of willingness to cooperate. Instead our policy has shown that we trust no other nation and as long as the military has final jurisdiction that will be our statement to the world. Fortunately progress is being made. The important Acheson Report written by a State Department Special Committee proposes that an international organization have full ownership and control of atomic power rather than having only an inspection system. One of the formulators of the report is Professor R. J. Oppenheimer, formerly head of the Los Almos laboratory of the Manhattan Project and an outstanding atomic physicist.

For the scientists to be aroused to action in forming the national policy on research is a natural result of self interest, but the policy affects every citizen. Every citizen must take an interest in studying the problems and points of view and in urging sound legislation.

So far the Senate has passed the MacMahon bill. Year one of the Atomic Age is almost closed. The United States Army continues to make bombs under strict secrecy and other nations race to make their own. It is urgent that the public press Congress to act; if the bills are not voted on this session, they die by default. We must demand immediate action.

The basic problem in the prevention of future wars is, of course, our international relations. Yet the national policy we set for the treatment of discoveries, especially the atomic legislation, reveals our attitude toward cooperation; secret military control proves that we trust no one.

More important is the fact that the policies of the committees established will be determined by the men appointed to those committees. Thus, our concern should go beyond the Congressional provisions to the personnel and the policies of the agencies to be set up. The legislation finally adopted will be but the beginning of a solution to the political problems hatched by scientific research.

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**• We hear that King Juda is unhappy in the Marshalls: "Bikini was better. We want to go back." (What's the matter with the man? Doesn't he believe in Progress?)**

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*The prophets of doom are deprived of their call*

# Debt Reduction

## By Sylvia F. Porter

From her column in the New York Post

ON June 1, the Treasury is going to redeem $2,000,000,000 of the national debt. On June 15, it's going to pay off another block of bonds, totaling nearly $2,000,000,000. These huge redemptions will lift the total of debt retirement just since March 1 to 'way over $10,000,000,000. In short, the biggest and fastest debt-slashing operation of all time is now going on. Ex-Secretary Vinson is truly "out-Melloning" Andrew Mellon—for it took Secretary Mellon 11 years to put this big dent in the public debt after World War I. And although there are differences between the eras, it's about time the anti-Administration forces awoke and admitted what's going on.

What's going on is exactly what these conservatives have for years demanded should go on.

What's happening is that their fiscal and monetary slogans are being taken away from them and given bright, new colors by the very people they have denounced.

Since these things are happening, they ought, at least, to recognize the facts—and stop pretending the facts don't exist.

The anti-O.P.A. forces have a favorite argument these days that goes something like this:

"Phooey on price control. It simply attacks the symptom and not the cause of inflation. The basis for inflation is the deficit financing, debt-creating policies of a spendthrift, economically ignorant Administration. Get rid of those policies and there'll be no need for price control."

All right, since they ask for it, here it is:

The deficit-financing phase in America is all but dead. Although we'll be operating on a deficit for another few months, every sign is that our federal budget will be balanced in the year beginning July 1. Moreover, there'll probably be a surplus in the coming 12-month period to cover the retirement of more debt.

That's one reason why the Treasury is using its extra cash now to pay off debt. That's the explanation for the fact that the national debt on June 15 will be below $270,000,000,000 against a peak last February of almost $280,000,000,000.

And you may be positive that the debt will be slashed more in the next several months—for there's cash in the Treasury's box earmarked right now for this purpose.

Among the powerful banking and insurance company groups in the United States today, there's also a favorite argument that goes like this:

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"No action to control inflation or efforts to achieve prosperity under a sound free enterprise system will be effective unless fiscal sanity returns in Washington and the long downtrend of interest rates is halted. The budget must be balanced; taxes must be kept at high levels to create a surplus for debt retirement; the debt must be slashed heavily and rapidly; interest rates must be stabilized so investors can get a decent return on money; and as much of the debt as posible must be distributed outside of the banks."

All right, since they ask for it, too, here it is:

As a result of the debt retirement program and other allied moves, the long downtrend of interest rates in America recently has been interrupted and it probably has been halted. Interest rates are being stabilized—just as you say.

Tax levels are being maintained and, as a matter of fact, the Administration urged Congress not to cut taxes as much as it did.

And the Administration definitely has no plans to lead a new drive for tax cuts—just as you say.

As for distribution of the debt outside of the banks, a good job is being done on that. By redeeming billions of outstanding government securities, the Treasury is removing billions of the debt from the banking system. There's a new savings bond campaign scheduled for June too, to re-awaken public interest in United States bonds. And other moves are under consideration. It's being done gradually, of course—but as you suggest, it's being done.

And I repeat, a balanced budget and even a surplus for debt retirement, for the first time in 16 years, are on the calendar.

Surely, the debt still is immense, a major factor in our economy today. But in case you have forgotten, that debt was created primarily during the war.

It's happening, just as the conservatives have wanted it to happen. But I've yet to hear it mentioned in their conversations and yet to read about it in their publications. And when, in some instances, I've brought up the subject, the evidence has been shrugged aside as invalid because it comes from "this Administration."

No doubt were these developments happening under another Administration, the publicity would be differently angled. But facts are facts.

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• An "incomplete" angler finally succeeded in hooking a very small trout. He wound it in excitedly until it was rammed against the end of his rod. "What do I do now?" he questioned the guide.

The guide shifted his cud slowly and drawled: "Climb up the rod and stab it with your hunting knife."

• Two farmers rivaled each other in getting up early. One boasted that he got up before three. Hoping to catch him in a lie, his rival got up at two the next morning and called at his door.

The early bird's wife came to the door. When asked where her husband was, she replied: "Dunno—but he was around early this morning."

—*Journal of Education*

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*Let's investigate this "cast"*

# Gobbledyguk

## By Robert K. Wheeler

From his column "In Perspective" in the Providence Evening Bulletin

THE campaign against the caste system in army and navy seems little more than a social skirmish to people who have battled bureaucracy for any length of time.

It's an everlasting struggle not only in government sectors but in other fields where grand strategy often seems to call for Putting Up a Front.

Strictly speaking, as Jonathan Daniels does in his recently published piece on what he learned in Washington, real bureaucrats don't cause half so much trouble, confusion and dislike as do the public get-inners, the professional get-onners and the private go-getters who imagine themselves bureaucrats, though usually by other names.

They are the ones who take most seriously the signs and trappings of their position, the words and gestures of their rank, and the privileges and appearances that denote their grade if not their ability.

Letter writing, for example, by its easy familiarity or condescending politeness or self-conscious impersonality, can show the level which a job holder has reached—or the level which he would like others to believe he has achieved.

A sample letter which is a classic of its kind has been circulating in Washington for almost two years. Its author is anonymous, unless he has been discovered and fired. Its language is fantastic, unless you've read reams of official letters (with the customary five or six carbons) which don't sound a great deal more far-fetched.

It never has been patented, and its always good for a laugh—and a warning. Here are excerpts from "The Loveletter of a Bureaucrat."

"My darling (unless hereinafter revoked):

"You are never, as stated in my letter of the 15th inst., out of my mind and now as always I find it difficult to correlate my feelings regarding you and adequately convey them to you as of this date.

"I miss you very much and a careful check of the overall picture is a corroborative fact that my loneliness without you is up 10 per cent over the figure for the corresponding period of the previous year. It is my belief, based on careful co-ordination of my thoughts and moods, that it will go up another 2 per cent within the next 30 days . . . .

"The time has come, according to conservative estimate, to tell you that I love you with a complete utilization of all available factors. I take it that you have evaluated your feelings toward me and have concluded to reciprocate to the maxi-

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mum in the interest of unity. We must now channelize our emotions with celerity for the attainment of our ultimate goals . . . .

"Co-ordinating my conclusions, I desire to place my heart, within the meaning of sub-paragraph five, at your feet as categorically listed, and without in any way modifying my policies as previously outlined . . . .

"Kindly reply by the inclosed form and I will issue the necessary directives to the printer, clergy, etc., and arrange for the matter of the church and ceremonial personnel . . .

"I send you the usual quota of kisses and four questionnaires which I wish you would fill out and return promptly. With all my love, I am your devoted slave, within ceilings as previously set."

Absurd! Yes. Impossible? Maybe. Only the other day I heard a girl applying for a government job. When asked what happened to her previous job, she replied: "It was inactivated." Self-made bureaucrats have really shoveled the emplacements for the Big Front when they start talking pompously and in the jargon of their office and allied arts.

Even surer evidence is what has been called "bureaucracy protocol." Another way of describing it is: You can't tell the bureaucrat's standing in the league without the name and number of his office furniture, telephones, rugs, filing cases, wall pictures, desk pictures, interoffice communicating system, chromium water pitcher, in-the-wall refrigerator, secretaries in inner office, secretaries in outer office, receptionist in left field, and messenger boy or batboy lingering near the private shower.

Incredible! Not at all. It's serious stuff in many a bureaucrat's cast of thought. It is so common a sight in Washington, and often in the outlying precincts where people can vote, that the professional funnymen no longer write home about it.

And, of course, it can be defended. No one defends it more smoothly than do those who hold some particular level as they plan to move up to a higher level, perhaps with two desk sets, on the official front. It's more than half the battle of, by and for bureaucracy.

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● There are too many late sittings, too many people smoking and too many cameras."—Jan Masaryk on the U.N. (too much *in camera* also).

● As the pallbearers carried the famous efficiency expert up the church aisle, the lid popped open and a voice said: "If you put this casket on wheels, you could lay off four men."

● A Hollywood writer called Sam Goldwyn excitedly and said that he had written a wonderful comedy.

"Fine, fine," Mr. Goldwyn said.

"Not only is it a great comedy," the writer said, "but it also has a message."

"A message?" Mr. Goldwyn queried in shocked surprise. "Just write me a comedy. Messages are for the cable company."

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*Our "good neighbor" policy is bogged down*

# Intervention Below

## By Edgar Ansel Mowrer

From his column in the New York Post

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR GEORGE S. MESSERSMITH has reached his new post in Buenos Aires at a critical moment.

Never has United States prestige been so low in Latin America. Even Brazil, most faithful of partners, has turned away from us for about the first time.

Toward the other American republics the United States is being neither a tyrannical but respected father nor a beloved brother. Trying to act simultaneously as the "Colossus of the North" and the good neighbor, we have been convincing in neither rôle. As a result the most powerful nation in the world, the co-victor over the mighty axis, has been out-maneuvered and made ridiculous by Argentina, a country whose military potential about equals that of the New York police force.

This said state is largely the result of muddled thinking. In Washington nobody has thought the problem of intervention through.

Under what circumstances—if ever—has one state or group of states the right (of the obligation) to intervene in the internal affairs of other states?

The United States policy toward Latin America has—it seems to me—gone through three phases.

The first was that of "dollar diplomacy." Then we intervened merrily with the Marines just about wherever in the Americas we pleased—illegally but effectively. We were feared, hated—and respected; and, as a possible safeguard the Latin American states flocked against such United States intervention, at the end of the last war all into the League of Nations. There was rivalry between the United States and the League of Nations as to whose "good offices" could first end the war in the Grand Chaco between Paraguay and Bolivia.

The next was the good neighbor phase.

In this period, which started under President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was largely shaped by Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, the United States agreed to eschew use of its superior power to intervene. Interventions—if any—were to be "collective." They would be undertaken against a black sheep, if at all, and then only by the concert of American republics.

World War II shattered inter-American solidarity. For whereas most of the American republics followed the United States in hostility to the Axis, and co-operated in an inter-American system of defense, Argentina went the other way. Argentina leaned toward the axis and protected axis interests. The

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Argentine ruler set up a very passable imitation of axis fascism.

What were the anti-axis republics—what was the United States to do about this?

Had Argentina gone as far on the axis side as fascist Spain, the remedy would have been swift and effective—a few B 17's or 29's. But Dictator Perón was cannier than Dictator Franco. He was careful never to overstep a chalk mark of cautious collaboration.

Spruille Braden, Ambassador at Buenos Aires, preached just the opposite policy. In the course of a long and fruitful career in Latin America, Mr. Braden has come to the conclusion that the United States should take the initiative, not only in eliminating a fascist enemy like Perón, but in trying to encourage positive democracy throughout the Americas.

This was the picture when the American republics, minus Argentina, met at Mexico City last year in anticipation of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. The real problem was how to coordinate a system of inter-American regional defense with the over-all prevention of war by the United Nations. The result was compromise: collective intervention remained as a war measure. Later it would be supplanted by a new system of regional defense to be organized at a later conference.

But at San Francisco, thanks to Latin-American fear of the Soviet Union and to two Americans, Assistant Secretary of State Nelson Rockefeller and Arva Warren, Argentina was voted into the United Nations. To be sure, Argentina promised to honor its engagements. Once in, it laughed at them. This shock to American opinion threw Nelson Rockefeller out of the State Department. When Ambassador Braden left Argentina to take Mr. Rockefeller's place, he attempted to revive the Hull policy.

*In vain. A few months later,* Juan Perón, after a little terror, staged and cleverly won a genuine, popular election. Dictator Perón emerged as President Perón.

Here was a Fascist regime returned to power by the will of the voters. Where was the United States to go from there?

In Washington, Spruille Braden refused to discuss hemisphere defense "with Argentine Fascists" and as a result, the inter-American defense conference was called off.

But in May, with a minimum of noise, a new American ambassador arrived at Buenos Aires.

Yet the fight over intervention was just beginning—not only in the Americas, but throughout the world.

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• Inflation: a period when two can live as steep as one.

—*Des Moines Register*

• Let the telescope come to me! A California State Senator of the "economy block" had $1,200.00 cut from the budget for a telescope at Lick Observatory, remarking: "What's the good of this telescope up there on the mountain for two or three people to look through?" (Didn't Galileo do all right with a little one-man "job"?)

—*Quote*

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*The railroads are feathering their nests against the future*

# Integrated Transportation?

## By Thomas L. Stokes

From his column in the Philadelphia Record

THERE is a plan afoot, sponsored by railroads and discussed widely in the past few years, to bring together all forms of transportation, rail, air, water, motor, through integrated regional systems.

It is promoted with the usual glib arguments about improvements effected by co-ordination. But the ultimate result would be a tight monopoly, particularly dangerous because it would leave no recourse for competition. And the public would pay.

It is suspected that railroads are pushing it to enable themselves to bolster up their shaky structure, debt-laden and inefficient, and thus protect the bankers and insurance companies which have the big stake in railroads—in short, a bailing-out process. Through the years the railroad bankers and lawyers have fattened on the re-organizations, a veritable racket and a familiar story to anyone who has covered the numerous Congressional investigations of railroad finance.

The proposed "integration" program would require legislation. Included would be immunity from anti-trust laws for agreements among and between various agencies of transportation.

The Bulwinkle Bill, now pending in the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, could well be the first step. According to Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge its provisions for immunity are so broad that they would permit "rail carriers, highway carriers, water carriers, pipe-line companies and freight forwarders, if approved by the Commission (Interstate Commerce Commission) to enter into agreements, to organize into combinations, and by joint action make determination as to rates to be charged, services to be performed, the kind of equipment to be used, the facilities to be installed and other matters vital in carrying on and developing the transportation industry."

As a matter of fact—and this is an alarming development little known to the public—railroads have reached out already quietly in recent years to other forms of transportation and, as Mr. Berge pointed out, "with some measure of success, to raise the truck, barge line, coastal, intercostal and Great Lakes Steamship line rates to the rail level and in some instances to raise the level of all those rates."

This has been under direction of the top command embodied in the Association of American Railroads and its banking, insurance and industrial officials. Plentiful evidence has come out. In its 1938 annual report, the A.A.R. traffic depart-

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ment said that the American Trucking Associations, Inc., had "shown a disposition to work constructively with the railroads" and had endeavored to keep the rates of its members "adjusted to the extent it can on the rail basis.

"In many instances the Trucking Association has assisted in getting low rates that were bothersome to the rail carriers brought to the rail level."

Then there is a directive of the ever vigilant A. R. Cleveland, to the chief traffic officers of member roads, dated March 12, 1938. He spurred them on to cooperate, and have their staffs cooperate, to meet "the desperate situation that confronts the railroad management."

"In this connection I call your attention to the fact that I believe with proper co-operation with truckers, with the barge lines, with the coastal and intercoastal and Great Lakes steamship lines, that their officials will assure you, if they are properly approached and encouraged, that they will be very glad to proceed along similar lines and make the same increases in cents per hundred pounds that you may determine upon. I therefore urge that every effort be made to work with your competitors to the end that there may be less hesitancy in proposing advances than there might be if competing agencies were not going to make similar increases."

Where does the consumer come out in all of this?

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• It's-about-time-department:

"All of us in industry have much to learn about public relations. We are far behind politicians, brain trusters, union leaders and left wingers in this respect."

—E. L. Shaner, editor-in-chief, *Steel*

• A South African teacher was testing a new pupil.

"Who gave us this beautiful school?" she asked.

"General Smuts", he replied.

"Who gave us our wonderful national roads?"

"General Smuts."

"Who makes trees grow and the flowers blossom?"

"God", answered the pupil.

An angry voice from the rear cried out, "Throw the damn Nationalist out."

• James, age five, was the fifth son in a very busy household. One morning as his distraught mother was trying to do the wash, he called:

"Mom."

"Yes," she replied in a distinctly uninterested tone.

"Mom."

"What do you want now?"

"Mom, you are wasting me."

"Why, what would you like me to do?"

"Just sit here with me." So she sat on the step with him.

"And now what shall we do?" she asked anxiously.

"Oh, just put your arm around me."

—*Claire MacMurray in the Cleveland Plain Dealer*

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*Britain washes its hands*

# Up to India

## By W. K. Kelsey

From his column in the Detroit News

PROFESSIONAL British-haters may find it hard to discover in the plan suggested for settling the question of India the Machiavelian plot which, according to the general drift of their philosophy, must be concealed therein. Yet it must be there, since these people have been re-iterating that Britain wants no settlement in India, in order that she may keep that region forever. Give them time; doubtless they'll find it.

Nevertheless, the peculiar fact seems to be that the British government has told India that the only thing that keeps Britain from moving out, bag and baggage, is the inability of the people of India to agree on a form of self-government.

A commission from the British Cabinet has been talking with Indian leaders, separately and together, in an attempt to arrive at a basis of agreement, on which a super-structure of free governmental functions can be erected. The commission has failed, because the Moslem League insists on a separate Pakistan, and the Hindus refuse to contemplate the breaking of India into two independent nations.

The dispute reached the point where the Moslem leaders said there would be civil war if they didn't get their own state, and the Hindu leaders, had it not been for the peaceful influence of Mohandas Gandhi, would perhaps have accepted the challenge.

Deadlock having been reached, the commission could have tossed in its hand and gone home, but for its instructions to explore every possible avenue. Therefore it proposed a suggestion of its own. If the Indian parties accept it, well and good. If not, no harm has been done, for the plan is merely a suggestion, nothing more. It is not a scheme to which the British Government is committed, or which it seeks to enforce.

The plan provides for the summoning of a convention to frame a constitution for all India as a single nation. Until such a constitution is framed and adopted, the country is to have an all-Indian executive with the exception of the Viceroy, who remains as a figurehead. The main points of a constitution are suggested, but they need not be accepted.

The problem of making the document is to rest entirely in Indian hands. It will not even be necessary for the British government to accept the constitution, once it is adopted. The moment it becomes operative, the British move out and India becomes completely independent—within or outside the British Commonwealth, as she may choose.

This plan can be nipped in the

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bud by a refusal of the Moslem League to have anything to do with it. That refusal can be based on either of two grounds, or on both. The first is the denial of the Pakistan idea for a creation of a state in Northern India with a Moslem majority. The second is that the proposal for the constitutional convention does not insure equality between the Hindu and Moslem representation, and therefore the Hindu majority will have its way.

The obvious reply to the first objection is that the Hindus will under no cirucmstances permit a division of the country into two nations. They can point out that under the plan suggested, a united India would start with three advantages which otherwise, by the very nature of things would have to be insured by treaty, if the country were split in two.

The first is foreign policy, in which India must be united to be strong. The second is defense, and the Moslem section is more vulnerable to foreign attack than the rest. The third is communication, which clearly should be free throughout India.

To the second objection—lack of equality in the constitutional convention—the Hindu majority can reply that with the basic question of unity agreed upon, it only remains to be settled what powers the central government shall have, since all other powers are to be left in the hands of the provinces and the native states. And if a convention is once assembled, it may prove that the delegates will find, as did the delegates to the American convention in 1787, that it would be a good thing to grant the central government even greater authority than the tentative plan contemplates.

Communications is a broad subject; it includes not only railroads and motor roads, but telegraphs, telephones, radio and a national postoffice. If all these matter are turned over to the central authority, what about money and coinage, weights and measures? Would it not be advantageous to have a uniform system throughout India? What about the regulation of internal and foreign commerce?

A convention would have to decide whether it wanted a strong national government, or merely a loose federation of states. The British commission evidently saw that such a question would crop up, and thought it wise for the new nation to bite off for the central government, at the start, no more than it could reasonably chew. Experience would show whether it would be more convenient for the component states to surrender more power to the central government.

Two facts are evident. One is that the present British government has succeeded in washing its hands of the problem of India, and has placed it squarely in the hands of Indians themselves. They have merely to form a nation, or two nations, as they may decide. This nation, or these nations, may remain within the British Commonwealth, or they may exist outside it.

The second fact is that this is the proposal of the Labor government; and it may be that the Labor government will be defeated one of these days, and replaced by one with different ideas about India.

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*The world didn't beat a path to his door*

# Poor Waldo!

## By Sydney J. Harris

From his column in the Chicago Daily News

WHEN I read in the papers that my old school chum, Waldo Emerson Klunk had blown his brains out, I was shocked but not at all suprised. Suicide was in the cards for poor Waldo.

You see, some time in his youth, Waldo had learned the maxim that if you invent a better mousetrap the world will beat a path to your door. So, for 12 long years, he shut himself up in the attic, working on the world's greatest mousetrap.

It was a beaut when he finished it, too. Why, this trap was so good that the mice waltzed right up and begged to be captured. Waldo made the Pied Piper look like a bum. He was really happy the day he put the finishing touch on his first mousetrap.

But that was the last day Waldo was ever happy. He converted his home into a plant for manufacturing mousetraps, confident that his product would knock every competitor right off the market. But the plant only turned out three mousetraps in the first six months, and finally, as you know, Waldo put a pistol to his head.

First off, the Amalgamated Mousetrap Local 101 refused to send men out to work at Waldo's plant. They said his invention was so good it would end the mousetrap industry by eliminating all the mice in America. No mice, no mousetraps; no mousetraps, no union. No soap.

Next, the National Mousetrap Association (a neat little monopoly of six interlocking companies who produce 95 per cent of all the mousetraps in the country) got after Waldo. They charged him with patent infringement. They accused him of stifling free enterprise. They said the mouse trap market was too glutted already, and Waldo's trap would put them all out of business. A battery of 27 corporation lawyers served him with subpoenas.

In spite of all this, he might have won through, except for one thing. Not only was the world *not* beating a path to his doorstep, but nobody outside his own family had ever heard of the darn contraption. Waldo had forgotten to hire a press agent. His mousetrap had no slogan, no singing commercials, no luscious ads of blonde beauties cooing, "My bedroom wouldn't be complete without a Klunk mousetrap," in four-color magazine spreads.

I fear that Waldo was a victim of "cultural lag." He had forgotten that the mousetrap maxim was said 100 years ago. I don't know what the moral is, but when I passed Waldo's house the other day, two white mice were sleeping on his desk.

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# FORUM: SHOULD CONGRESS PA

## YES!—C.I.O.

**By Kermit Eby**

Director, Department of Education and Research, C.I.O.

FOR lack of national health legislation, tens of thousands of Americans are condemned to death every year. Hundreds of thousands, even millions, struggle along with unnecessary physical handicaps—blind, deaf, crippled or sick, and all needlessly. It is impossible to record the cost in human suffering. In money terms, it runs into billions of dollars.

Over 10 years ago, we first set up a nation-wide insurance system against the hazards of old age and unemployment. Action in the field of health is long overdue. Our own Social Security Board has several times called attention to the fact that the United States is practically alone among the major nations of the world in failing to provide some comprehensive kind of health insurance or disability benefits.

Health is a matter for national concern and national action. Disease does not respect state lines. Epidemics sweep a country from coast to coast; indeed they spread beyond national boundaries.

Take the welfare of our children as an example. Our boys and girls are our greatest national asset. On their health and development depends the future of civilization. The time will come when it will seem as blind and senseless to permit children to grow up malnourished as the jailing of insane people, a century ago, now seems to us. While we single out children in this instance, it should be perfectly obvious that the health of all people, no matter what their age, is of similar concern.

There are plenty of statistics, for those who need them, to show the weakness of our present haphazard approach to the nation's health. Over one-third of our young men were found physically unfit for military service and turned down by Selective Service under the draft act. Even many of those who were accepted had some defects, like poor teeth or bad vision.

### HAGERSTOWN STUDY

In an effort to determine just why so many young Americans are in poor health, the United States Public Health Service has done a good deal of research. Among other things, they have tried to keep track of the health of growing children in the Hagerstown, Maryland, area for about 20 years. They found that most of the Hagerstown boys who were rejected for military service had those same defects when they were children. For example, three-quarters of the children who were rated as underweight and undernourished 15 years earlier were rejected by Selective Service. Half of those who were disqualified because of eye defects had poor vision 15 years earlier.

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# ,S THE NATIONAL HEALTH ACT?

## NO!—A.M.A.

By Dr. Morris Fishbein

Editor of *Hygeia*

From an address presented at the Mid-Year Meeting of the American Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association, December 11, 1945.

WE oppose unreservedly the establishment of a system of Federal compulsory sickness insurance, such as is provided under the new Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.

There is much of semantics in the air these days. Semantics is a fine word; it rolls off the tongue nicely. We have gotten ourselves into considerable argument over the question as to whether this is or is not socialized medicine. I am willing to admit that we already have socialized medicine. I am willing to admit that we already have socialized medicine in the United States. New York State has about 40 per cent socialized medicine, as Dr. Parran proved some years ago. Since New York is one of the wealthiest of the states, it carries on more community medical activities than any other state in the union. The figure varies from 40 per cent in New York State to about 25 per cent in the State of Illinois.

In the southern states, such as Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas, communal provision of medical services dwindles down under the two-figure percentage into the one-figure percentage; they have less money to spend on medical services, including preventive medicine. There are less sanitariums, less hospitals, less beds for the sick. There is a large negro population; there are far less beds for negroes, proportionately, than there are for white people.

Now, let us come back to compulsory sickness insurance and whether or not it is socialized medicine. Or shall we disregard the words? Well, the opposition does not permit us to disregard them. President Truman spends 25 or 30 sentences trying to prove that this program is not socialized medicine. As a student of propaganda techniques, I am willing to hazard a guess that he spent the time trying to convince the people that this is not socialized medicine because he knew the American people do not want socialism.

An advertisement in *The New York Times* was careful to say: "This is not socialized medicine. It is insurance." Let us see if it is. Let us see if it compares with any kind of insurance that you or I carry.

First, you have to buy it whether you like it or not; it is compulsory. What insurance do you carry that you have to carry?

Every wage-earner in the United States will have four per cent deducted from his income, and every self-employed person would have five per cent deducted from his income; the money would all go into a pot which will be

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These children, along with other millions of Americans, are noteworthy monuments to neglect and public indifference.

What purpose is served by examining children and making records, when in countless cases their parents have no money to cure their defects?

## PRESENT COST

Medical care, today, costs the American people about four billion dollars a year. This same amount of money, used to support current medical needs, could be paid by employers and each gainfully employed person in the form of insurance. And this relatively small outlay, properly applied, could take care of at least the minimum, basic health needs of the American people.

About 75 per cent of all American families need financial assistance to pay their medical bills. According to a study made by the American Medical Association in 1939, families with incomes under $3,000 usually require require assistance in paying for proper care of serious illness. The family is plunged into debt when illness strikes. The doctor, if he is called, frequently learns that the family can't pay his fees. All too often, the answer is neglect.

A worker or his wife, with an ailment of one sort or another, drags along, trying to avoid the expense of a visit to the doctor. Finally, what sarted out as a single disorder becomes a serious illness. The family borrows or is thrown on public relief, as it vainly strives to meet a medical bill which has grown needlessly large because of the earlier neglect.

It is the recognition of these hazards that has led the C.I.O. to advocate the establishment of a prepaid health insurance system. Under the proposed National Health Act (Senate Bill No. 1606) the average American would be entitled to the following medical and hospital services:

1. All needed medical care for himself and family
   —from the doctor of his choice;
   —from specialists, if he needs them;
   —hospital care up to 60 days (120 days if funds permit);
   —laboratory services (including chemical, X-ray, etc.);
   —special appliances, including eye glasses, properly prescribed;
   —dental and home nursing services.
2. Better medical care
   —through support of medical research;
   —through more training of doctors in new methods;
   —through specialist, consultant and laboratory services.
3. More and better public health services
   —through assistance by federal government to states
      —for improved sanitation;
      —for control of contagious diseases;
      —for special services for mothers and babies;
      —for public health education.

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The cost of this program can be met through small regular contributions, paid in advance by the worker and his employer (the government will help, financially, in developing better public health services). This kind of pre-payment plan will be similar to that already provided under the old age and unemployment insurance systems. Actually the amount of money required to institute a decent health program would not exceed the relatively small annual outlay of four billion dollars which, as a nation, we already spend on health. Accumulating and disbursing this sum of money for pre-payment health protection, as provided in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, would, however, enormously improve the nation's health.

While organized labor supports this bill, it also calls attention to the need for additional measures to round out the health program. We continue to urge passage of legislation to expand hospital construction throughout the nation. We also believe that a comprehensive health program must include cash disability benefits to yield an income to the families of workers who are temporarily or permanently disabled. It is during such periods of disability that the need for financial assistance is greatest.

Here is what we ought to be able to accomplish with such a health program in America: death rates from many diseases would decline rapidly. Within 5 or 10 years we could make great progress toward wiping out scourges such as tuberculosis and cancer. Half of the battle lies in diagnosis and early treatment, which would be encouraged under the National Health Act. In addition, public support of research in these fields can have enormous results. Between 1900 and 1940 typhoid fever and diphtheria were all but wiped out through public health measures of sanitation and immunization.

Under this program, we can also look to great reductions in the death rates for mothers and babies. In our country, these should be the lowest in the world.

## PATIENT'S CHOICE

A great deal of nonsense has been said and written that this bill would cripple private medical practice and the right of a patient to choose his own doctor. A careful reading of the bill clearly indicates that private medical practice and the doctor-patient relationship are well safeguarded. Doctors or groups of doctors are free to decide whether or not they wish to operate under the insurance system. They are also permitted to select their patients. As for patients, they can select any physician who operates under the insurance system. Indeed, the freedom to choose a physician which is now denied to many Americans who are forced to attend public clinics, will become a reality only with the passage of this bill.

Specialists will be entitled to special rates of payment. Their eligibility will be determined on the basis of general standards, prescribed by the National Advisory Medical Council. Rates of payment will take into account the doctor's professional experience and skill.

The bill also emphasizes local autonomy and control. Doctors and other professional people would set the standards. The doctors in each community

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would decide by majority vote on the method of payment for their services, but individuals could also arrange to be paid as they wish.

The administrative machinery in the bill is well drafted. A National Advisory Medical Policy Council will work with the Surgeon General to shape the general program. Similar committees will be appointed at the regional, state and local level. These bodies will include both medical and non-medical people. We do not want to take away any responsibility from the doctors, but this is a community problem.

There will be no regimentation. Beneficiaries, physicians and hospitals will all be able to appeal to qualified appeal bodies. Appeals involving only professional or conduct will be heard by bodies made up exclusively of competent and disinterested professional persons.

A worker and his family will be protected whethor or not they move to another state. A national system is preferable because it furnishes this coverage, and it also helps to bring decent medical care to people throughout the nation.

A national system will cost less than separate state systems, which have been proposed in some quarters. It is true that the C.I.O. has supported state plans in some instances. But we have done so only pending national action. Then, too, the poorer states which need the most medical care will be least able to furnish it. Finally, the failure of the states to act after all these years clearly stresses the need for federal legislation.

—*Seaman in The New Leader*

"AXE"

Many doctors are enthusiastically supporting the National Health Act. However, the American Medical Association, under the control of conservative groups who have usually opposed any change in the tradition of medical practice, is conducting a campaign of misinformation on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.

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It is interesting to see that the A.M.A., which formerly opposed all types of health insurance, is now changing its tactics. Recognizing the great and ever-growing interest of American doctors and citizens in health insurance, the A.M.A. is now trying to encourage voluntary health plans.

It is plainly evident that voluntary plans cannot meet the basic need of our people. They would leave the lower income groups largely unprotected since most of them cannot afford the payments. The cost of voluntary plans are naturally quite high because only people with more than average medical needs join them. Furthermore, most voluntary plans won't admit older people or people who already have some ailment.

Again, almost no voluntary plans provide protection as complete as that provided in the National Health Act. Many of them only pay the cost of surgical fees and hospital care. They, therefore, do not encourage preventive medicine or even early attention to illness.

## COMPULSION

There has been much ado about the fact that this bill sets up a compulsory insurance plan. Well, in the first place, let's remember that social security and unemployment compensation are also compulsory. Yet no one could seriously try to sell Americans the idea that these benefits have infringed upon their basic liberties. And don't forget, that in 15 years' time, "voluntary" medical care plans have enlisted only a small percentage of Americans under their limited coverage.

We believe in a federal system because under it our members and all working people can obtain for themselves and their families complete medical and hospital care by small, regular contributions, supplemented by employer contributions and, insofar as needed, by government. It will spread the risk, lower the cost and break down financial barriers between the patient and doctor or hospital.

This system will improve the nation's health by encouraging preventive medicine and checking symptoms before they become serious. We believe doctors will benefit as they are relieved of the worry about payment.

All over the world peoples are on the move. They are demanding a greater share in the fruits of modern civilization. American democracy must meet the test of providing an ever-expanding standard of living and a greater sense of personal security and well-being. Failure to do so will threaten the institutions on which we place the highest value. Improved care of the people's health is one of the important ways we can accomplish these goals.

The passage of this bill will not in itself do everything that must be done to improve the health of our people. But it is a great step in the right direction. Congress must act now to insure at least this minimum of medical care for all Americans.

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held by the Social Security Board. The taxation is not provided in the latest Wagner Bill, but the taxation is discussed in the President's message. I want to emphasize this fact particularly. The American people have a right to know that the President mentioned the taxation, and it is not in the bill.

Why isn't it in the bill? Because they have tried to pass this bill four or five times. They have brought the bill into Congress by the orderly process of our democratic system of government; it has gone to committees in the Senate and in the House. Invariably it has suffered a relapse when it got into a committee. Therefore, it has not come out of committee. Since it has not come out, it has not come on the floor. This time, to make sure of some hearings, they have left out the tax measure. Instead of going to the Finance Committee, it went to the Committee on Education and Labor, with Senator Murray as Chairman. It will also be heard by the subcommittee on health of that committee, of which Senator Pepper is the Chairman.

This proposal which would force the wage earner to pay a four per cent tax on the first $3600 of income would mean, if two people were employed in a family, $288 a year ($144 if one were employed), and if there were three, it would mean another $144 on top of the $288. That means that every family in the United States with two or three people working would pay this tremendous tax out of its income.

Once a government establishes this principle of deductions from envelopes of the wage earners—and I am citing history—the technique spreads like the skin diseases that start with a macule or a pimple and before you know it, you are red all over. The worker will suddenly discover that his deductions from his pay envelope amount almost to what he calls his "take-home" pay.

The money of the worker and his employer, having gone into the pot of four billion dollars a year would be used to establish a bureaucracy to provide medical care under one individual, the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, whoever he may be. We happen to have a good one at present. We have had good ones for many years. But political parties change, governments change, political employees change. There is no insurance as to just what kind of a Surgeon General might eventually be in charge of the Public Health Service. He is to have a Consulting Board whom he himself appoints. That type of control has been initiated in the government by other agencies.

The system in which a Consulting Board is appointed by one man, the board owing their positions to him and the permanence of their position to him, is vicious. He need not take their advice. The safeguard that Wagner offers is this: if he does not take their advice, they can always publish their advice. No matter how much you and I publish, we will have a hard time publishing as much as fast as a government agency can publish. We have observed the growth of publicity in government departments in Washington and what such publicity can do. Herr Goebbels demonstrated the uses of government controlled propaganda.

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What advisory board could ever compete equally with a government agency that disagreed with it?

Senator Wagner, and the advertisement which appeared in *The New York Times*, say that the federal compulsory sickness insurance system does not interfere with free choice of physician and with personal relationship between the doctor and the patient.

I tell you again —*read the bill.*

*—Cecil Jensen in the Chicago Daily News*
"EVEN AN ATTRACTIVE NURSE HAS HER DRAWBACKS"

The bill says that the doctors of the community shall vote to determine how they will practice: (1) whether they will practice on a fee for service basis, with a fee bill approved by the Surgeon General; (2) whether they will practice on a salary basis, with salaries determined through agreement with the government agency; (3) whether they will practice on a per capita basis, in which the doctors get so much for so many people on his panel, which is the British system; (4) whether or not they will organize themselves into groups of doctors and the groups will pay salaries to the individuals in the group. The government would determine how much the group would get for taking care of the people.

What are the scientific facts? You and I know, and everybody who knows the medical profession knows that the inequality between doctors is tremendous. The lowest grade of practitioner who practices medicine in the United States and the highest type of medical practice that prevails are oceans apart. The highest quality of specialistic practice by men certified by the Boards in our various specialties is far, indeed, from the work of the cross-road surgeon who tries any operation that comes to him, simply because he is licensed to practice medicine and surgery.

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*Any control that has been established to protect the public against incompetence in medical practice, any protection that the American public has had against incompetence in medical practice, has come from the medical profession itself; and seldom, indeed, from governmental authority.*

The medical profession has raised the standard of medical education and raised the standard of competency in the specialties. The medical profession itself certifies men in the specialties, and the hospitals determine when they want men properly qualified to practice in the hospitals. The Council on Medical Education and Hospitals together with the Division on Hospitals of the American College of Surgeons says that certain hospitals are or are not competent to provide high-quality surgery.

**BREAKDOWN STANDARDS**

Well, what would the Wagner Bill do to these controls? The Wagner Bill would open every one of these hospitals to any doctor licensed to practice medicine or surgery and would break down the standards of hospital care that prevail in the country.

*Under supreme government controls, one doctor is as good as another doctor. Once our doctors are regimented under a government system, that system cannot, under the very basis of our system of government, distinguish between doctors licensed to practice medicine and surgery.* The only factor that successfully restricts an icompetent doctor, is the personal responsibility that prevails between doctor and patient dependent on mutual confidence. That, itself, makes a good doctor successful, and sends a weak doctor off where he cannot earn even the average $3,000 a year that the government system wants to guarantee. They appeal to the lowest instincts of the human being, saying that under this system, even the poorest of doctors will make a good living.

How grand it is that the doctors in American medicine could not be reached by that kind of an appeal. Even our poorest doctors still have enough respect for their profession to make them say: "We would not want to practice under that kind of a system."

If the system set up under the Wagner proposals is not socialized medicine—if it is not state medicine to have the government collect the money, disburse the money either individually or through the states and have the states in turn disburse the money to the doctors, so that there is no longer mutual responsibility between the doctor and the patient—then, we are talking without the slightest understanding in our consideration of socialized and state medicine.

This form of medicine will deteriorate the quality of medical service in

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the United States. It will break down our system of medical education, will interfere with our private hospitals, whose funds are raised out of the spiritual beliefs and understanding of great religious and great trade and community groups and will make every hospital in the United States dependent on a government agency for its income. The system will discourage philanthropy, and finally, worst of all, will deter young men who respect the medical tradition, young men of scientific beliefs and desires, young men with intellectual curiosity, from entering the profession. They seek freedom to go out and do the best they can and to use their own initiative. A young fellow who wants to make the most of himself will be bound in chains by the government system.

## VOLUNTARY PLANS

American life insurance has 68 million voluntary policyholders. There are 23 million industrial workers covered by private insurance plans, and more than 19 million people are insured under hospital insurance of the Blue Cross plan.

There are 50 mutual insurance plans that have been set up by county and state medical societies in more than 20 states covering five millions of people. They are growing rapidly; growing so rapidly, now, that we have begun to establish voluntarily the necessary standards to permit them to maintain a high quality of medical service.

People have said to us: "Why didn't you take the Blue Cross Plan when it was first offered? Why didn't you take the County Medical Insurance Plans where they were first offered? If you had started taking these plans 15 years ago, the legislators wouldn't be talking about this new bill now."

Well, of course, that isn't true. They were trying to set up compulsory sickness insurance 35 years ago. Scientific medicine has been trained in the idea of examining every proposal scientifically before accepting it. Why do we set up a Therapeutic Trials Committee to determine the toxicity and usefulness of drugs before giving them to the people? Simply so that we may proceed on a sound scientific foundation. We will not embrace a proposal that anybody offers without examining it as to its ability to render a high quality of medical care. The discussions and the evaluations made for us the more sound plans we now consider.

These plans have evolved. We have begun to come to the point where a plan seems to be sound on the basis of the available evidence. American medicine is testing these plans and encouraging them to meet changing conditions. We may, within the next 5 or 10 years, bring the numbers up to 50 millions of people; provided that industry does its part; provided that medicine does its part and that we approach the problem on a cooperative, voluntary basis.

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• Oh, tempora! Oh, Hollywood: "I'll make her a star overnight, even if it takes a lifetime."

*—Gregory Ratoff*

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*The Klan would wreck self-government*

# Nightshirt Knights

## By Royce Brier

From his column in the San Francisco Chronicle

THE Ku Klux Klan as latterly manifested is essentially an organization of moral cowards. There may be an occasional individual on the rolls with the courage to come into the open—a few of the leaders here and there seem unabashed—but for the most part the members prefer an alley fight.

As a matter of fact, a similar moral obloquy attached to the old, historical Klan, but there was a mitigating circumstance. These men were Confederate soldiers who had passed through hellish years of hardship to ruin. Their whole world had crumbled about them; they had lost their moral anchors and they were not themselves.

Now the modern Klan, that of the 1920's and that forming up today, runs on very piffling fuel compared with the old, historical Klan. It runs on a corrosive and malevolent prejudice in no way comparable to trudging home in abject defeat and finding your house burned, your acts determined by the late enemy and your laws made by strangers. It runs on mere opinions, as to how self-government should work, and on a false philosophy as to the nature of self-government. It is a welling up in adults of child-tantrum traits, the recoil of the undisciplined child when things don't go exactly his way.

Take the case of the "K.K.K." painted on the administration building of the University of Southern California, a couple of fired crosses planted on the campus, one on the lawn of a Jewish fraternity, and some vandalism at a synagogue in Los Angeles. Investigating officers say they believe the campus depredations resulted from "juvenile pranks" rather than Klan action.

This is the official mind which, if it possibly can, will brand a murder a suicide, because it is less embarrassing in the captain's precinct to have a suicide, and its solution is less work, too.

But this answers nothing at all, because youths who will perpetuate such "pranks" have the Klan spirit and might as well be members. Like their elders they are dominated by prejudice and intolerance, don't know what self-government is, and don't know the place of civil rights within the framework of self-government. So if some public officials would get off the dime and go to work on the Klan-type depredations, while laying off the baloney, that might help, too.

And if they don't—that is, if they continue to violate their oaths of office—trivial outrages become progressively worse. They progress from fired crosses to intimidation of victims, finally to tar-and-feathers,


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finally to lynching and other forms of murder. For this is only the nature of cowardly conspiracies which go unrestrained. It was the nature of the Klan of the 1920's, and appeared sporadically in its sorry history. In the history of the Nazis it appeared not sporadically, but as a commonplace.

No reasonably intelligent adult in America can say after a century and a half that he doesn't know intellectually how self-government works, for it is exceedingly simple in principle. It consist of determination of public policy by a majority vote, but with a guaranty of certain explicit rights to a minority. But not only are these rights preserved against invasion by a majority, but they may not lawfully be invaded by any individual or group which doesn't happen to like seeing them exercised by another.

This is frankly a mechanism devised for the purpose of materializing self-government. It is furthermore the only mechanism which has ever done the job. Adherence with fair consistency to its principle is the only known way of possessing self-government and making it work.

Has it worked with us? It has. In the main we have supported it, despite discouraging large-scale lapses from its principle, past and present. In the main (the Negro's case is the most important exception), American minorities have kept their rights, and individuals have exercised their rights against the wishes of other individuals and groups.

This adherence has been the foremost contribution to the reality that Americans are as free as any people on earth ever were, and more free than most now are, and to the reality that America's average moral position in the past century has not been surpassed in history. It has contributed largely to the reality that America is the most powerful and dynamic nation ever seen.

The purpose of the Ku Klux Klan, and all similar bodies devoted to mulcting or robbing minorities of their rights is to wreck this whole mechanism, and to destroy self-government. It makes no difference that Klan apologists unctuously bawl that their purpose is the opposite—to save self-government. They are either lying in their teeth, or lack the low mental amperage necessary to puzzle out the trend of their thought and action.

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• A good wife of Bristol, England won a divorce at the Bristol Assizes because her husband collected waste food, old bicycles, old false teeth and piles of waste paper which he dumped in the living room. (Maybe he was just being subtle.)

• "Before you get action, you've got to have a crisis. And in any crisis, someone's nerve has got to crack. I always bet that I can hold out longer than the government or the operators."—John L. Lewis.
(Is this a private fight or can the public "horn" in?)

• Advice to speakers: "Don't be nervous. Do just as I do. Whenever I get up to speak I always make a point of taking a good look around the audience. I say to myself, 'What a lot of silly fools.' And then I always feel better."

—*Winston Churchill*

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*Let's have more light and less heat*

# Strike Heat

## By Marquis Childs

From his column in the Washington Post

AS the gears of industry grind to a stop, emotions—fear, anger, hatred—reach the boiling point. It is an atmosphere in which rash and hasty action may produce consequences even more threatening than those confronting us today.

So much heat has been generated by the industrial warfare of the past six months and so little light. In his speech before the United States Chamber of Commerce and in an article in the current *Atlantic Monthly*, Harvard's Professor Sumner H. Slichter makes more sense than anyone else on the issue of unions, collective bargaining and wages.

First, Professor Slichter tries to answer the question whether the strikes were worthwhile from the union standpoint. Certainly, he concludes, they were not worthwhile on the basis of the wage increases that were won.

Not until early in 1948 will the workers in General Motors be as well off as they would have been had they not struck and had they worked steadily without any wage increase whatsoever. Not until 1953 will they be as well off as they would have been had they accepted the company's compromise offer of 13½ cents and thus ended the strike earlier.

According to Professor Slichter's calculations, it will be more than two years before the employees of the United States Steel Corporation will have made up for their refusal of the company's compromise offer of 15 cents an hour increase. Two and a half years will be required before the employees of General Electric are as well as they would have been had they accepted the company's compromise offer of 13½ cents.

"Some people argue," says Professor Slichter, "that the time needed for wage increases to compensate for time lost will be diminished by overtime work which will be caused by the strikes. On balance, however, the higher wages forced by strikes will diminish the amount of overtime."

This last has been proved true in industry after industry. It is true, for example in lumber and woodworking, where the curtailment of overtime has caused a reduction in the amount of lumber available for houses.

The companies also suffered losses from strikes. But their losses were relatively far less than those of the workers. In part this was because of the working of the income tax carry-back provision, which compensates corporations if their profits, under certain circumstances, fall below a level fixed in the law.


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Under this provision, General Motors got from the Federal Treasury $34,415,000.

But these economic losses to workers and to companies might be justified, as Professor Slichter sees it, if the two parties were learning to bargain together. That is, if they were learning to live together in comparative harmony under the American system of free enterprise.

Government intervention is a danger. If it is repeated in strike after strike through the fact-finding technique, or whatever technique, the danger is that the pattern will be set once for all. Wage-fixing by law will be the next step. The straitjacket of government will close around a large section of our economy.

The coal miners will have to work a long time to make up for their losses in the current strike, even though they get increases above those granted any other union. They were out for 45 days.

Is it worthwhile? Are the two parties learning to bargain? No! John L. Lewis, up until the so-called truce, declined to bargain in any real sense. He made demands and he refused to discuss those demands.

In any democratic meaning of the phrase, there has never been collective bargaining in the coal industry. In the past when wage negotiations have been up, Lewis as boss has holed up in a big suite in a luxury hotel in New York. Finally he has made a deal with the boss of the operators.

Such a deal is not collective bargaining. It has no resemblance to the give and take that occurs between two organizations when they really represent the segments of an industry. Through real bargaining comes mutual understanding. Understanding means improvement in profits and wages.

There has been talk of the "case for John L. Lewis," That is untrue. There is a case for the miners —an incontrovertable case on the score of safety and pensions. But Lewis has not made that case. Lewis is a man of deals. And deals do not mean bargaining for the workers.

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• Diner: "Waiter, I want some oysters, but they musn't be too large or too tough, and they mustn't be salty. I want them cold and I want them at once."
Waiter: "Yes, sir. With or without pearls?"

• A salesman was proposing to his girl: "And, sweetheart", he wound up, "I'll lay my whole fortune at your feet."
"It isn't a very big fortune", she reminded him.
"I know, dear", he replied, "but it will look awfully big beside your little feet."

• "With more than 8,000 votes cast, Mr. Leonard's lead which was checked and rechecked through the night, stood at 41,826 votes. He polled 4,309,074 votes, as against 4,267,248 for Mr. Livingston." *Times* report of the U. A. W. convention in Atlantic City. (The U. A. W. certainly has a way with figures!)

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*We should preserve the balance of power in the Mediterranean*

# Mare Nostrum?

## By Walter Lippmann

From his column in the Portland Press-Herald

THE main points at issue in the Italian treaty are so difficult to settle because they open up the greater question of a Mediterranean settlement. The present purpose of the Soviet Union is manifest: it is to break into the Mediterranean and to dominate the eastern half of it. This would disrupt the British Empire by separating Great Britain from the Middle East, from Africa and from southern Asia. To this end the Soviets support Tito's claim to Trieste and Venezia Giulia. This would give them control of the head of the Adriatic and would enable them to dominate the North Italian Plain. To the same end, they are exerting internal and external pressure upon Greece and Turkey, which constitutes a barrier between them and the Mediterranean. Finally, as a clincher, they asked for a trusteeship in Tripolitania on the southern shore of the Mediterranean.

This is a blatantly crude plan to settle the Mediterranean problem by taking possession of the Mediterranean. It cannot, however, be carried out unless the Soviet Union starts and wins a world war. For the British and the Americans hold Trieste and the more important part of Venezia Giulia. The British are in Greece; they are in Tripoli. They are allied with Turkey, and the United States, which is committed by the United Nations Charter and its own vital interest, has, along with Britain, the sea power, the air power and the amphibious power to support its commitments. The recent cruise of the U.S.S. Missouri in the Mediterranean was a salutary reminder of our interests and our power.

But we must look beyond this refusal to give way. For it cannot of itself lead to a settlement. We cannot sit forever at Trieste, and there can be nothing permanent in a policy which consists in bolstering up Greece and Turkey against the unremitting pressure of the Soviet power. This is a stop-gap policy, necessary in the immediate circumstances, but bound somehow to break down if we relax, or to break up in hostilities. Now, if we look for a more permanent settlement, we must recognize at the outset that this is a problem in power politics. We may wish it were not. But it is, and there is no prospect of constructing a solution unless we begin by thinking and acting in terms of power politics.

In these terms the situation in the Mediterranean is one of extreme instability because Britain is overextended in relation to her power. The weakness of France and the defeat of Italy left Britain as the


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only important power in the Mediterranean. But her authority rests on a dangerously fragile foundation. On the shores of the Mediterranean there is the uneasy connection with Franco, with the monarchist parties in Italy and in Greece, the precarious alliance with the Arab nationalists. From beyond the Mediterranean the military potential of the British Isles is not what it was, and on the other side India—which was an important source of British military power—is certainly no longer an asset, and is almost certainly a liability. No doubt this is the reason why the rulers of Russia thought the time had come to force the ancient issue between the Russian Empire and the British. But in reaching this decision they reckoned without the United States, or, to speak more precisely, they supposed that Americans lacked the insight to understand their interests and were still too isolationist to act effectively for their interests.

This impression has been heightened by the discovery that after Roosevelt's death we drifted into a policy of seconding the motion, leaving the initiative to Britain. Such a policy cannot be effective, and was certain to arouse, as it has done, a deep reaction in the United States against what appeared to be, and indeed was, and is admitted to be by its authors, a policy of underwriting the British Empire. The policy was made by men who had just begun to realize the vital significance of the British-American connection in the world. But they had not yet understood that this connection will be weakened, perhaps ruined, if in the Anglo-American partnership the initiative is in the foreign office while the final costs in blood and treasure have to be approved by the Congress of the United States. The argument on this crucial point—that the Anglo-American partnership cannot be maintained on a basis of inequality—is, as I happen to know, not well received in London.

The alternate to underwriting the British position in the Mediterranean is to restore a balance of power in the Mediterranean. Eventually and in one way or another the Russians are going to become a Mediterranean power. Britain alone cannot in the long run prevent this. Britain, reinforced by the United States, can for a while hold the Russians in check. But the consequence is that there will be no peace. There will be only a kind of truce, which in countless ways, by intrigues, blunders, official irresponsibility, could be broken and would result in war. There would appear to be no basis for a settlement except by multiplying the number of powers which have a direct stake in the Mediterranean. To this end the proposal to make Italy the trustee of Tripoli looks in the right direction: away from the notion that the Mediterranean must be a British lake in order to exclude the Russian from making it a Russian lake.

But to restore Italy as a Mediterranean power—and to support the revival of France—will not be enough. The United States will need to become a Mediterranean power too. The Russians are coming some day, and we should be there in our own right.

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## THE CASE BILL

*Should the President Sign the Case Bill?*

### THE CASE BILL

The Case bill has already been ratified by both Houses, though in slightly different versions.

This bill, though far less dramatic than a labor draft, is in some ways more drastic. It would set itself up permanently to destroy major gains painfully won by labor during the last half century.

There would be a mandatory cooling-off period of 60 days before a strike could be called. This doubles the amount of time now required under the Smith-Connally law.

But cooling off hasn't saved us from strikes so far; it has, in fact, encouraged them. Congressman Smith, himself half-author of the cooling-off idea, recently testified that it had turned out to be a "heating up" period and should be done away with.

The Case bill would also prohibit secondary boycotts by labor unions in support of strikes. By thus confining labor's economic powers to a narrowly-circumscribed area, the effectiveness of labor organizations could be crippled.

The Case bill also provides that unions can be sued for breach of contract. But labor unions have been held liable to suit ever since the celebrated Coronado case of the 1920's.

Re-affirming that idea simply acts as an inducement to employers to turn to the courts instead of trying to work out problems as they should, in grievance sessions or through negotiations. Thus the Case bill demonstrates that far from accelerating collective bargaining, it would outflank it.

A particularly vicious portion of the Case bill would deprive any striker guilty of "violence" while picketing, of his rights under the National Labor Relations Act.

Now the National Labor Relations Board is already on record as refusing re-employment and other rights to strikers who engage in major breaches of the peace. But sensibly the Board has drawn a distinction between fisticuffs or warnings to scabe of "I'll get you," which are a frequent concomitant of labor disputes, and



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really dangerous acts of violence. The former draws no penalty while the latter does, and the courts have approved this distinction.

To make all violence liable to punishment, without defining "violence," is to endanger every worker who engages in picketing.

There are reports from Washington that President Truman intends to veto the Case bill. Despite his ill-considered proposal to Congress, we are nevertheless, on the basis of Truman's pro-labor record while in the Senate, inclined to credit these reports.

His draft program was bad enough, but at least it was not set up to become a permanent law of the land. The Case bill, however, if enacted into law, would be in force from here on out, emergency or no.

The President must therefore veto the Case bill.

—*The New York Post*

**SIGN IT, MR. PRESIDENT**

The House of Representatives did a good day's work when it approved the Senate amendments to the Case bill and sent it to President Truman's desk.

With the exception of the anti-Petrillo bill, which was aimed solely at one labor leader's extortionate demands upon the radio industry, the Case bill is the first piece of legislation passed by Congress which is designed to remove some of the labor shackles imposed upon the American people by the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

The bill cannot be considered by any fair-minded person as being anti-labor. As Representative Clarence Brown, of Ohio, pointed out, it is far less drastic than the emergency legislation proposed by President Truman, and it would help labor "clean its own house."

Does anyone argue seriously that labor organizations should have the right to commit robbery and extortion? The United States Supreme Court held four years ago that existing laws did not permit the prosecution of labor union members for committing these crimes under the federal anti-racketing act. The Case bill would make such prosecutions possible.

Does anyone seriously contend that a labor organization should have the right to violate its contracts, while employers are



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held strictly accountable for keeping their agreements? The Case bill would permit civil suits against both employers and labor organizations for contract violations.

Is there anyone who believes that it is all right for labor organizations to engage in violence while picketing or to conduct a strike which is prohibited by law? The Case bill would take away the collective bargaining rights of those who committed these offenses.

Is there anything wrong in having a federal mediation and fact-finding board direct the parties to a labor dispute to bargain collectively for 60 days before calling a strike, when the board finds that such a strike would be adverse to the public interest? Such a board, with these powers, would be established by the Case bill.

Should innocent parties be persecuted by secondary boycotts when two labor unions are engaged in a jurisdictional dispute? Under the Case bill instigators of secondary boycotts would lose their bargaining and re-employment rights.

Should a labor czar like John L. Lewis have the right to levy a private tax against an entire industry, the proceeds of which would be administered exclusively by the union? The Case bill would prohibit employer contributions to worker-welfare funds which were administered exclusively by the union.

The Case bill would also bar the organization of supervisory employees for collective bargaining purposes and would establish fact-finding commissions to help settle disputes involving public utilities.

During the debate in the House some Democratic members hinted that President Truman would veto the Case bill. We trust they were misinformed. At last Congress has passed a measure to give the public some protection against the rapaciousness of over-zealous labor leaders, instead of conferring more special privileges and immunities upon them.

The sentiment of Congress is shown by the majorities by which the Case bill was passed—230 to 106 in the House and 49 to 29 in the Senate.

Mr. President, an anxious and long-suffering public awaits your approval, too.

—*The Cleveland Plain Dealer*

**LABOR VACUUM**

In a haphazard fashion Congress is trying to meet the issue presented by John L. Lewis. Some months ago the House passed

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the Case bill. Here is a confused effort to mix mediation and compulsion. It is not surprising that the Senate Committee on Education and Labor discarded this section of the bill. But the latter committee has gone to the other extreme, sending to the Senate a bill that would do little more than convert the United States Conciliation Service into a Federal Mediation Board. This effort falls pathetically short of what is needed. John L. Lewis could thumb his nose at the new agency no less effectively than he is now doing at the Labor Department's mediators—or as James C. Petrillo did at the so-called restraints of the anti-Petrillo Act.

Better mediation machinery we should have. But when a new agency is set up, it should have at least a fair chance to succeed. It should operate under a law that puts a positive obligation upon union officials as well as employers to bargain collectively and to make use of all peaceful devices for reaching an agreement before striking. Certainly there should be provision also for governmental fact-finding or other means of exerting public pressure upon recalcitrants in controversies of national concern before the walkout stage is reached. At present the government is in the rôle of a helpless onlooker while a little private war threatens to stall a large part of our economic machinery.

It is not a question of denying the right to strike. Rather it is a question of regulating the exercise of that right in the public interest. The government now adheres to the ridiculous policy of granting special privileges and protections to labor unions regardless of how monopolistic or undemocratic they may be, how ruthlessly they may deny the right of all men to work, how flagrantly they defy the public interest or ignore the fundamentals of the collective bargaining process. This is obviously an outrageous policy which makes the government itself in large measure responsible for the industrial chaos that this policy is producing. How can members of Congress dare to face their constituents in the primaries this summer and the elections in November without correcting this condition?

—*The Washington Post*

**APPROVE CASE BILL**

If President Truman vetoes the Case bill he will undo much of the good effect of his address to the country and his appearance before Congress.

A veto would convince many people that he still does not really desire to do anything toward stabilizing labor relations, and that his speech was only a grandstand play.

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The Case bill contains some provisions that might better have been eliminated, but it contains others that ought to be adopted. President Truman wanted six months' further study of a bill to to write a permanent policy on labor relations, but the subject matter has had full and careful study already.

The Eastland amendment, making the federal penalties against extortion and racketeering apply to unions, ought to be the law.

We question the wisdom of the Byrd amendment making unlawful a health and welfare fund, paid exclusively by the employer, to be operated exclusively by a union. We do not believe this type of control is as desirable as the type in which there is joint administration, but we doubt the wisdom of enacting a law to enforce that preference.

The Case bill does not reach the question of what is to be done in an extremity when, after mediation, arbitration and cooling off, a devastating strike takes place anyhow..

The bill that Senators Ball, Hatch and Burton proposed more than a year ago did reach that question. It would have made it compulsory to accept the verdict of a board of final appeal if the board found as a fact that an interruption of service under the circumstances would threaten the public safety.

President Truman has proposed his emergency bill giving the President extraordinary powers of compulsion, for an emergency period running six months beyond a proclamation of the end of the war. Can he reasonably sponsor a bill providing such extreme penalties, including those that might be imposed by military courts after inducting strikers into the armed forces, and fail to approve the Case bill?

Comparatively, the Case bill is a mild measure indeed. If it stronger in any respect than it ought to be, it is because of the increased danger to public security that a wild series of strikes have brought about during the months that Congress did nothing.

Today a general labor law through another six months of chaos might produce a much tougher bill.

This may have been Truman's plan: appease the public by demanding extraordinary power that he would never use. Appease union leadership by vetoing a bill to give the government more moderate powers that would be used routinely to keep the industrial peace.

—*Chicago Daily News*

[Editor's note: President Truman has vetoed the bill.]

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# *Country Comment:*
## Beans for Thoreau

Dear Mr. Thoreau:

No American writer, past or present, is in my mind oftener than you are. Whenever you speak, I am the listener. May I now—101 years to the month since you went to Walden—tell *you* something? Something about beans?

Recalling the seven miles of bean rows you hoed your first summer at the Pond, I want to tell you about a bean you ought to have raised but probably never heard of.

*Soja max,* or the soybean, reached America in 1804. As rice is China's bread, so for ages the soybean has been China's meat. It has all the nutrients of meat, all the protein, and it has more of it, pound for pound, than meat. It has 12 times as much fat or oil as the navy beans you grew. Yet for a long time it was only a botanical curiosity here.

As a food for man, it is still pretty much of a curiosity in America, though it has grown to be a major fodder crop, and in manufacture it performs miracles that you would not believe even if I could explain them. The American people like to tell tall stories about the soybean, but they don't want to eat them. They don't want to bother to learn to like them.

That was all right as long as there was plenty of other food. But today the world (though not America) suffers from the worst famine on record, following the most destructive of all wars. The bean that does miracles in manufacture could now do miracles of mercy. A field that now gives pasture to a few cattle or hogs could feed a whole village if planted in soybeans for food and not for fodder.

Forgive me, I didn't intend to burden you with our troubles. I was thinking of your own problems at Walden. Food was one of them, though you took pains to deny it. You may have had enough to eat, but you did not always have enough of the right things. Your rye-and-cornmeal bread and boiled rice left you poor in the very elements that soybeans are rich in. I have a theory that with the soybean you would have stayed at Walden longer than two years and two months, and that you would not have now and then "ranged the woods, like a half-starved hound, with a strange abandon, seeking some kind of venison." A food easy to grow, easy to store, easy to cook. Simply soak some beans overnight in a pan of Walden water, bake in your beanhole, and eat twice a day. I speak from experience.

The Chinese have a legend that Hou Tsi, a god of agriculture, "wishing to give humans a superior food, planted the first soybean." I don't forget that, among your more New England virtues, you were a connoisseur of Chinese wisdom.

Yours sincerely,

*ROBERT FRANCIS.*



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# "Unit and Universe . . ."

By George F. Whicher

Professor of English, Amherst College

LITERARY allusion is a tricksy thing when it involves taste and judgment. Downright borrowing is another matter. Once the source of borrowed material has been found, there can be little further argument. But when an author embodies his admirations and dislikes in a blind reference, then the reader is faced with a new variety of the old game of "guess what I am thinking."

A neat instance of ambiguity occurs in a line from Robert Frost's *A Masque of Reason,* where the patriarch Job speaks of "the way all things come round,"

> Or of how rays return upon themselves,
> To quote the greatest Western poem yet.

What did Frost have in mind as "the greatest Western poem"? Probably many readers have asked the question without immediately arriving at an answer.

A professor at Williams who knows his Dante and who uses the word "western" in the scholarly sense of Western European culture, which includes American, recalled a passage in the *Paradiso* where Dante describes how a second or reflected ray constantly emerges from the first and bends back upon itself like a pilgrim who wishes to return. Could it be to this passage that Job's words pointed?

There would be no difficulty in accepting the *Divine Comedy* as a supremely great poem, but would a poet as firmly centered in the Western Hemisphere as Frost ever allude to anything east of Eastport, Maine, as "western"?

A professor from the University of Kansas City solved the puzzle by citing a line from Ralph Waldo Emerson's poem "Uriel":

> In vain produced, all rays return.

This was obviously what Frost was thinking. But the solution of one question only raised another. In what sense could Emerson's lines possibly be designated as "the greatest Western poem yet"?

This question is unanswerable if we let ourselves suppose that the allusion is to be taken as a solemn critical pronouncement. It must not be regarded in that light at all. It is purely an expression of admiration. Emotion enters into it in the guise of the rhetorical figure known as hyperbole.

Frost writes with a twinkle in his eyes. His intentions are not always to be read on the surface of his words. What he hopes to do here is to awaken his readers to the



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merits of a little masterpiece in our own literary tradition.

"Uriel" is a poem that grew directly out of intensely felt experience, as Emerson thought the truest poems should grow. It was not rooted in air. To understand it we must glance at its background in Emerson's biography.

Intellectuals of the 1830's were intoxicated by the vision that America afforded of new beginnings for the human race. Surely in an unpreempted continent three thousand miles from their homelands men of European origin might slough off the errors and prejudices inherited from the past. Man might start afresh with good hope of realizing his best possibilities. This way of thinking, before it acquired the ponderous German label of Transcendentalism, was known simply as "the Newness."

A leading Unitarian divine, the Reverend William Ellery Channing, set the tone of the movement when he exclaimed, "We cannot admit the thought that this country is to be only a repetition of the old world." Not long afterward Emerson in his first published book demanded, "Why should not we also enjoy an original relation to the universe?"

Inspired by this passion for new beginnings, Emerson urged American thinkers to learn from nature and from action rather than from the records of the past. "Books are for the scholar's idle times." The past lives only as it is incarnated in the present. The little world of Cambridge thrilled to the brave message.

But a year later, in 1838, Emerson spoke to the half dozen seniors of the Harvard Divinity School and earnestly begged them to find God in their own hearts rather than in sacred writ. Then the fat was in the fire. Every church, even the Unitarian, was solidly based on historical Christianity. Many of Emerson's hearers hastily concluded that in his zeal for what was fresh and immediate the speaker had denied the divinity of Jesus.

At once the faculty of the seminary was up in arms. The Reverend Andrews Norton, breathing fire, denounced Emerson's address in an article entitled "The Latest Form of Infidelity." Even the mild Henry Ware, Jr., Emerson's friend and pastoral colleague, wrote him a pained letter asking him to state the reasons for his position. There were no reasons forthcoming. Word went round New England that a dangerous heretic had arisen. Emerson was not asked to speak again at Harvard for 30 years.

Though he did not enter into controversy with his critics, Emerson pondered over the meaning of his experience, extracting wisdom from what must have caused him real suffering. When in 1847 his first volume of *Poems* was published, it included a picture of what happens to an advanced thinker when he ventures to announce his eager thought to a society comfortably bedded down in orthodox beliefs. This was the fable of "the lapse of Uriel."

Emerson's generation would have immediately recognized the symbol which holds the center of the poem. They were brought up to parse Milton's *Paradise Lost* as meticulously as they construed Virgil and

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Homer, and they would not have failed to place Uriel as the archangel of the sun whom Satan encountered as he approached God's newly created world. Uriel, the personification of light, was an apt symbol of intelligence, the light of the mind. Goethe's last words, "Light, more light," have in our time become the motto of a forward-looking party.

The setting of the poem is vaguely the Miltonic heaven before the beginning of the world, or as Emerson put it, "or ever the wild Time coined itself into calendar months and days." When the poet wished to mention the supreme ruler of heaven, however, he was at a loss to find a term that had no previous religious connotations. He finally chose the Arabic word *Seyd,* meaning "the Lord."

Seyd, then, overheard the young inhabitants of paradise, as it might be the students of a divinity college, talking of everything under the sun and above it.

> The young deities discussed
> Laws of form and meter just,
> Orb, quintessence, and sunbeams,
> What subsisteth and what seems.

They were talking, in other words, about poetry, the laws of physics, and philosophy, the essences of things. Then Uriel, the original thinker, announced in all innocence a conception that upset the harmony of heaven: there is no such thing as a line. "Line in nature is not found."

A violent conservative reaction instantly flared up. The unheard of idea was immediately branded as treason, a menace to law and order.

> The stern old war gods shook
> their heads,
> The seraphs frowned from myrtle beds;
> Seemed to the holy festival
> The rash word boded ill to all.

(We are very close to the Harvard Divinity School in these lines). The rash word of Uriel was straightway smothered under a conspiracy of silence. Nothing is easier than to close the eyes to unwelcome light.

So the discoverer of new truth was reviled and discredited, but the word once spoken lived on like an unextinguishable seed of fire. Once it had been pronounced, "truth-speaking things" reiterated it in spite of all that could be done to pervert and ignore their testimony. Uriel's voice was confirmed by astronomy, chemistry, physics, psychology and ethics. His thought echoed from the whole universe:

> And a blush tinged the upper
> sky,
> And the gods shook, they knew
> not why.

Is it only to Emerson that this fable applies, or to Galileo before the Inquisition forced him to deny what his eyes had seen, and to countless others whose bold and clear thought has found no acceptance until long after the thinker was dust? Socrates? Abelard?

Uriel's particular heresy was not just invented for purposes of the poem but was a basic idea in Emerson's own philosophy. As always he felt that the laws of matter were paralleled by the laws of mind, and

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hence his "sentiment" that lines have no valid existence is stated doubly in terms of both the outer and the inner worlds.

> Line in nature is not found;
> Unit and universe are round;
> In vain produced, all rays return;
> Evil will bless, and ice will burn.

Hardly 20 years ago an intelligent critic could refer to "Uriel" as a "puzzle-poem." Its paradoxes, however, are less cryptic than they seem. Outwardly considered, a mathematical line does not exist. It is only a concept in the mind. What we see in nature are masses of greater or lesser extent. Space, as physicists now tell us, is best thought of as curved. Parallel lines converge if indefinitely prolonged, and a ray shot out due north will eventually be found coming back at us from the south. Air frozen solid will burn the skin as effectively as red-hot iron.

Robert Frost, who is very unwilling himself to draw hard and fast lines between poets and men of science, has said that "Uriel" contains all of the philosophically sound and humanly relevant truth of Einstein's theory of relativity. It is indeed remarkable how this poem published in 1847 seems to anticipate the concepts that mathematical physics was to reach nearly a century later.

But Emerson is of his time, and of puritan New England, in placing emphasis on the ethical side of his doctrine. "Evil will bless." As a speculative thinker he was fascinated by the conception of dualities, day and night, hot and cold, good and evil. But the conviction that seemed to him most fundamental was the one which he stated in his essay on "Compensation," that opposites tend to merge and flow into each other. No rigid distinctions are possible. Experience is fluid and ultimately one. To the mind of Brahma, far and forgot are near, sunlight and shadow are the same.

This is a mystical and religious reading of life rather than a philosophical principle. It is not logical. But it was basic to Emerson.

Its ethical application can be very simply expressed in terms of a geographical figure. Suppose we regard the average man as morally in the longitude of 90 degrees West, or approximately at St. Louis, and that the meridian stands for him as the theoretical line that separates good and evil. His imagined good is west of him, in Denver and beyond; his imagined evil lies to the East . . . Pittsburgh . . . New York . . . Paris. The simplest way to attain the good is to move straight west. But it is also possible to attain the good by traveling east and keeping going. This has been the route followed by some of the greatest of the saints, who have passed through sin and evil till they emerged on the other side in confirmed holiness. The moral universe is round, and the lines drawn on it are as invisible as the meridians of longitude. Evil may prove to be only the long way round to good.

In his protest against a fixed pigeonholing of ethical values, Emerson was in full accord with the revolutionary temper of the early nineteenth century, when many re-

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ceived notions were being challenged and discarded. Shelley before him had been at some pains in *The Cenci* to construct a conceivable situation where a highminded and resolute girl is driven to murder her father as the most moral solution of the hideous plot in which she finds herself enmeshed. The state, blindly following the pattern of ethical preconception, then proceeds to the judicial execution of the criminal while the church also condemns her as a sinner. Shelley's point like Emerson's is that no line can be drawn in advance. Before making a moral judgment every circumstance needs to be considered, and when that is done there is little to choose between one man and another.

Shakespeare's Lear expressed the same thought when he pictured the self-righteous justice railing at the simple thief, and remarked, "change places, and, handy-dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief?" But he, of course, was mad.

Robert Browning, however, has enjoyed a reputation for sanity of an especially vigorous description. In *The Statue and the Bust* he tells of a noble duke and a high-born lady who have set their hearts on sin, but who postpone the carrying out of their intention to some more convenient time, which never comes. The poet remarks with something of Uriel's voice of cherub scorn that such technically virtuous souls "see not God, I know."

> And the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost
> Is—the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin.

Salvation is dynamic. Evil will bless if one has the strength to come out on the other side. Unit and universe are round.

Emerson's denial of the validity of lines in the moral world, though somewhat advanced for the Cambridge of a century ago, would no doubt seem quaintly irrelevant in a modern psychopathic clinic. We have almost forgotten the time when rigid ethical distinctions seemed important. His radicalism on that side has no longer any target at which to shoot. But just as Combridge found his call for an original relation to the universe an inspiring idea until he disturbed deep-seated complacencies by giving it a religious application, so we can accept the conception that "line in nature is not found" with indifference until it is applied in the political world. Emerson himself did not attempt to apply it there, and I very much doubt if Robert Frost would sanction its extension in that direction.

But has the American political experiment any other meaning than to show that the barriers between nations, races and creeds are merely figures of speech, imaginary lines established for convenience, temporary expedients rather than eternal necessities? What is our melting pot but a symbol of human unity, an assertion that essentially all men are joined in a common destiny. One race . . . one world . . . one fate. Unit and universe are round.

If there is a greater Western poem than that, where will you find it?

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# *Apples by Ocean*

Common sons and common fathers gathered
And brought tame apples home in blue-wheeled carts,
But this son and his father went by ocean
And rowed their apples home through sapphires' hearts.

They carried sacks bulging with wild hard honey
From trees sown by thin Indians and deer,
Carried wild apples on their backs to the bay side
Through the cool bonfire of the dying year.

The smell of frost, the smell of briefened sunlight,
Of bayberry and apples mingled in,
The golden powder of the late light dusted
The man and boy on forehead, cheeks, and chin.

They walked through fiery dust up to their nostrils
And came bent low with apples to the shore,
Put down the bags in a boat spiced with salt water,
And pushed off into the ocean's azure core.

They sang past islands carved like polished onyx,
Their oars kept time in rhythm clear and sweet,
The scent of apples crushed in the sea water
Was sharp as sudden joy around their feet.

The evening over them was all clear amber,
They rowed unweary inside an amber-stone
Electric with the light, the father being
A boy again, the boy a man full-blown.

They rowed home fast, but they knew they would never
Be home from sea or out of this golden night,
They would be with apples there forever
Walled in the immortality of light.

*ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN*



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# Books in Brief

## By Jasper R. Lewis

### THE CHINESE—THEN AND NOW

CHINA as the storybooks have told it: that is *China and America,* by Foster Rhea Dulles (Princeton, $2.75). That is no reflection on Dulles's volume, but after reading of the peculiar ways of today's regime in Chungking, the good old days of romantic trading, adventure and pioneering sound like fairy tales.

In 1784 an American privateersman reached Canton, and from that year on our trade with China has been important to us, both for export and import. In the early days, our shrewd Yankee skippers made handsome profits on their voyages to China, despite the dislike of their Asiatic customers. Then in the 1840's the British, using opposition to the opium trade as an excuse, managed to increase their toeholds on ports and islands. In the years that followed, both Britain and the United States were able to negotiate treaties that promoted their commercial aims.

While the white men freely exploited China and the Chinese, as soon as the Gold Rush turned eyes on California, heavy immigration of Chinese began, and, in turn, Americans protested. This feeling was not forgotten even up to the year just before the war nor, to be honest, even then. The exclusion laws subsequently passed were not removed until the exigencies of the recent war made it a matter of diplomacy to remove the bars, or at least modify them.

It is cynically amusing to read of the grabs of Chinese territory by the various nations in the 1890's. Japan surely had precedents. We were the disinterested bystander (since it looked as though our trade would not suffer). Dulles repeats some of the pious but practical statements of public figures: James J. Hill, Senator Lodge and Mark Hanna. The missionaries too were fervid in their support of our intrusion in the Philippines and in China; it was a stepping-stone to their task in Asia.

Particularly interesting is the story of the years since 1900, when Russian advances brought Japanese protests. The war between those two nations followed; Britain's position then favored the Japanese, as a block to Russian ambitions.

The course of events since then need not be repeated here, although Dulles reviews them briefly but effectively, and many incidents, viewed in the clear eyes of hindsight, are noteworthy guides to what followed. When he covers the situation during this war, however, Dulles is too much the diplomat. The Stilwell matter is mentioned briefly, and little light shed on the situation.

The impasse between the Na-



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tionalist and the Communist forces in China and whether Hurley and then Marshall took the right steps, are matters too recent to be judged in this book. Dulles mentions the problems and optimistically calls for co-operation between China and the United States. That is a sentiment that is generally acceptable; whether the cross currents in Asia will permit this co-operation is something for the future to decide. Dulles, however, has done his part. In a very readable and interesting manner, he gives an excellent picture of our relations with China over the years, so that the average American can post himself on what to expect in the Orient.

*Wrath in Burma,* by Paul Eldridge (Doubleday, $3.00), is one of those books that either pleases you immensely or irks you to the same extent, depending on your viewpoint. It outlines the tribulations of "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell in his efforts to stay on good terms with Chiang Kai-shek, persuade the British in Burma to fight the Japanese and coax or bully the Chinese armies to do likewise. Somehow General Stilwell controlled the wrath; the picture presented is one of supreme patience, occasional resignation, but above all persevering insistence on action.

Eldridge makes no bones about his opinion that the British were under orders to hold back to save a "generation of British blood," while the Chinese had two objectives; one, to profit by lend-lease, squeeze and any other means of gain; two, to store munitions and supplies to fight the Communist Chinese after the Japs were defeated by the Allies. Much of this we have seen hinted or stated before, but here we have what is apparently an eye-witness account of the obstacles put in Stilwell's path. The author takes the first small group of American officers sent with Stilwell to Rangoon early in 1942. At that time it was patent to observers that the British wanted no Chinese within the empire, since they might want to stay in. The Burmans hated the British cordially enough to knife them when possible, and the Chungking Chinese, hostile to the British, were not too fond of the Americans either.

The story of the Allied defeat in Burma, Stilwell's epic flight through jungle and his eventual return to triumph are sufficiently well known not to need mention here, although Eldridge tells this story in detail, with a sense of humor and attention to personalities to make it vivid. Of greater importance is the evaluation of the British generals and political figures from Churchill down.

Just as Ingersoll in *Top Secret* took Montgomery and other British officers to task in his report of the European Theatre, so Eldridge quotes General Alexander, Lord Mountbatten and others to prove his point that Stilwell, the only one who wanted to wage war, was a thorn in the Britishers' side; that their greatest job was to hold him back and keep him tame.

During two years and more the Allied forces played at cross-purposes. However, when the parade of personal representatives of President Roosevelt started to visit Chiang Kia-shek, the fat was in the fire: Donald Nelson, Patrick Hurley, Wedemeyer — all striving to make the "Gimo" see the light, and

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eventually sacrificing Stilwell to the god—or devil—of politics.

In a sense it is the story of the uses of that art supposedly developed by Americans — advertising, which is propaganda. As Eldridge tells it, the British and even the Chinese, did a better job at this than we did. The author represented Stilwell as one of the three specialists in public relations working at Delhi. He undoubtedly idolized his hero, who has been pretty well idolized generally by Americans for his plain spoken, efficient leadership. There is then every reason to give credence to the author's statements of jealousies and false propaganda reports issued by the British to save face. There is also plenty of support for the theories regarding the aims of the Soong clan. Those who lean to these two beliefs will find *Wrath in Burma* the confirmation of their opinions. Eldridge is not pessimistic about China despite his views, but he is realistic about the possible weaknesses of the group in power at present. He concludes his fine book: "Tolerance does not walk hand in hand with the double-cross, any more than the web of mutual understanding can be spun from the thread of truth evasion." His book tells the story of political double-crossing, which even war and death could not put to a stop. That seems to be "international diplomacy."

## BRIEFER COMMENT

### OF GENERAL INTEREST

A pageant of the city, and at the same time a record of its high spots in this century is *Detroit Is My Own Home Town,* by Malcolm W. Bingay (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.75). More than that, it is a barrel of fun, full of anecdote, wit and recollections of the celebrities that made Detroit famous, or vice versa. Bingay is Editorial Director of the *Detroit Free Press* and maybe only a newspaperman could write such a book. It is a biography of Detroit and Detroit people, and it sparkles with humor and zest for living.

Quite a book, also, is *It Happened in 1945,* edited by Clark Kinnaird (Essential Books, $3.50). It is a volumninous record of the year in text and picture as gathered by International News Service and King Features, with International News Photos. It is naturally largely about the war, but covers many other happenings including sports. Written in popular style for everyman.

*Restless India,* by Lawrence K. Rosinger, (Holt, $2.00), is one of the Headline Series published by the Foreign Policy Association, for which the author has been Far Eastern expert for several years. The book reviews briefly the history of India and gives an idea of the forces working for eventual control. It offers some concise information for an understanding of the problem.

In *Prophets and People,* by Hans Kohn, (Macmillan, $2.50), the author presents the various ideas of nationalism as they developed in Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Russia during the nineteenth century. Professor Kohn attacks the

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problem by analyzing the writings of the leading political economists of each nation. The student of world affairs today may find some causes of recent trends in the events considered in this book.

*Twentieth Century Political Thought,* edited by Joseph S. Roucek, (Philosophical Library, $6.00), is an effort to present the political and social theories of the day in such a manner as to reflect the various schools of thought and the conflicting forces prevalent in the world. Each chapter is contributed by an author presumably specialized in his field of study, and a general picture of global political economy is offered.

It is with fear and trembling that this is written. Here is *Jarrold's Dictionary of Difficult Words,* compiled by Robert H. Hill, (Howell, Soskin, $2.50). Such a book can be most useful, but it can also be a threat to sanity in the hands of a tyro. In 344 pages you will find thousands of seldom-met (praise Allah!) words from aardvark to zymurgy. For the writer, and the serious reader, it can be mighty handy to have around.

**BIOGRAPHY**

Those who have read and enjoyed the writings of Hearn will recall their thrill of first discovery in the biography of his life now offered by Vera McWilliams in *Lafcadio Hearn* (Houghton, Mifflin, $3.00). Hearn's oddities were shown long before his Japanese sojourn, and Mrs. McWilliams offers a sympathetic understanding of his tribulations and the inherited polyglot background from which his genius came. In the extensive bibliography from which the author drew her facts, it is interesting to note "Lafcadio Hearn: a French Estimate, by Michael Monahan, in *Forum* of 1913."

Intended for publication abroad, biographies of 17 well known American figures are collected in one volume, *Americans, A Book of Lives,* by Herman Hagedorn (John Day, $4.00), with pen and ink portraits. The idea seems to be to give a brief introduction to the careers of some of those who, in one way or another, have helped make America. Those chapters which deal with scientists, authors or educators are easier to take than those on political figures: T. R., Woodrow Wilson and Hoover. Here Hagedorn assumes that his evaluation of men and and policies is the correct one. For propaganda purposes abroad it is acceptable, but for domestic consumption it is subject to the reader's own opinion.

*Earth Could be Fair,* by Pierre van Paassen, (Dial,$3.75), is partly autobiographical and partly the story of the author's birthplace, Garcum, Holland. It is descriptive of life in the little Dutch town, and takes in the period from before World War I through War II. Lively characters make it a book about people, rather than about a place. For all his inherited background of a family of clergymen, van Paassen is frank in his language, whether in relating the daily incidents of his characters or in his comments on Hitler's deviltries. It is both interesting and educational.

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## FICTION

*That Hideous Strength,* by C. S. Lewis, (Macmillan, $3.00), is for the chosen spirits who can still enjoy fantasy and imagination. If there is a moral to the tale, they may understand it or they may neglect it in favor of sheer enjoyment of the story itself. The volume follows *Perelandra,* and concludes the trilogy of which *Out of the Silent Planet* came first. But you can enjoy this last story by itself. Personally, I think there is enough gentle satire and humor in it to make it worth while for enjoyment purposes alone.

If you earn your living out of advertising, radio or publicity, and doubly so if you can afford to laugh at those specialists, you will get your money's worth in *The Hucksters,* by Frederic Wakeman, (Rinehart, $2.50). It is the story of an up-and-coming chap who dares tell off the soap magnate and who makes the grade to the top with the necessary wine, women and song to give the book an assist to the best sellers' list. The first part of the story is the best, it is germane to the publicity story; the second part, largely devoted to an overdone liaison, told with freedom of expression, will of course attract more attention than the picture of radio's sins, which is unfortunate, but helps sales.

*Here's O'Hara,* by John O'Hara (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $3.00), is an omnibus volume containing three full novels and 20 short stories. The three novels are Butterfield 8, Pal Joey, and Hope of Heaven; the shorts include some of his most O'Harasque pieces. O'Hara fans should have a field day.

At the other end of fiction street is *The Sooner to Sleep,* by Frederic F. Van de Water (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.50). It is typical of the author's leisurely but expert handling of characterization, against the backdrop of Vermont and its people. It should make enjoyable summer reading of the better, more old-fashioned kind.

Erskine Caldwell knows the South; the white and the negro. *A House in the Uplands* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.50), tells the story of the gradual but certain disintegration of the aristocrat, the troubles of his much-too-good-for-him wife, and the trials of life on the family estate, in the negro quarters and of the neighbors. It probably won't be relished in the South.

A novel of Civil War days, with its setting in the "west"—Indiana—is *Proving Ground,* by Leone Lowden (Mc Bride, $3.00). It is lengthy, slow of movement and in the tradition of 90 years ago, which means that for those who still enjoy stories of yesterday in yesterday's wrappings, here is a book for their taste.

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• Attention U.N.:

Very frequently a fight for what is right degenerates into a quarrel for what is left.

—*Wit and Wisdom*

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# The Theatre Arts

## By John Gassner

THE May month's report can rightly be devoted entirely to Shakespeare although the Old Vic's repertory was not exclusively Shakespearean. The theatre also accommodated plays like the Negro problem play *On Whitman Avenue* and the brash Ethel Merman musical *Annie Get Your Gun,* both considerably removed from anything Elizabethan.

The most remarkable event belonged to Shakespeare but curiously enough not to the Old Vic. I refer to the *Henry V* film produced by Laurence Olivier in England during the war at a cost of $2,000,000 and presented in key American cities by the Theatre Guild, custodian of dramatic culture in this country since 1919. It is impossible to overpraise this cinematic transcription of the famous chronicle play; impossible to over-rate it as either Shakespeare or film.

Several factors conspired to achieve this triumph. In the first place, Shakespearean drama translates ideally into motion pictures. There is a simple reason for this: all Elizabethan drama was fundamentally cinematic. It was written for a stage that did not confine the playwright within four walls, that did not limit the dramatist to one or at the most a few scenes, that allowed every conceivable liberty with the dramatic unities. The poet's imagination was free to travel in time and space because the popular playhouse had no fixed settings, leaving everything but the most elementary representation to the audience's "willing suspension of disbelief." This theatre was at liberty to represent the furthest reaches of fancy and the most crowded battle-scenes of history because the audience was accustomed to paint the most ample scenery from the poet's words and to multiply a few actors into panoplied armies. Even the act and scene divisions of Shakespearean plays are artificial constructions of latter-day editors. The play flowed in one continuous action like any screen drama.

If earlier films like *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet* were failures, the fault lay in the butchery of the texts and the inadequacy of the productions. In its fidelity to the play, Laurence Olivier's production merely proves the richness of Shakespeare's matter and the fluidity of his dramatic form. In *Henry V,* besides, Olivier found an ideal story. Shakespeare created his Henry as the epitome of English manhood, surrounded him with English yeomen and noblemen, Scots, Irish and Welsh who combine to represent the English



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people. He created a national epic, climaxed not only by a national triumph at Agincourt but by victory of the common foot-soldier over the armored might of feudal chivalry. That Olivier and his fellow-actors should have put their hearts into the story is not amazing if we consider the significance of the Henry V saga to embattled Britain. It is no wonder that the most memorable scenes in the film should be Olivier's address to his army and the night watch during which King Henry visits with his soldiers on the eve of Agincourt.

Patriotism and an eye for national pageantry, however, do not exhaust the film's resources. There has been little in the entire history of motion pictures to equal the sheer loveliness of the romantic scenes—the French princess learning English in the garden and King Henry's wooing. And there are few scenes of pathos to equal the death of Falstaff, which is brought into the context of *Henry V* with pardonable liberty, since every line is Shakespeare's. Above all, there is the sheer artistry of the whole to be taken into account. The fine modulation of the technicolor is a miracle, considering the expensive inadequacies of Hollywood technicians. The excellent cutting overcomes for once the disadvantages of heavily dialogued screenplays, confounding the theorists who would legislate against long speeches and rich dialogue in motion pictures. It opens the way to poetic drama on the screen. The camera takes wings from the narration of the chorus (by that fine English actor Leslie Banks) bringing every visual effect to wonderful materialization—and this in the delicate but clear two-dimensional style of medieval painting.

The picture moves subtly from a version of *Henry V* as presumptively acted by Shakespeare's company at the Globe (a vivid and comic representation of Elizabethan production with all its crudities and riotous audience) to the imaginative cinematic visualization of the story. It returns to the Globe at the end, and we see that the actor playing Henry is somewhat less than the demi-god of our imagination, and that the ravishing princess is none other than the traditional boy-actor of the Elizabethan stage. But between the beginning and the conclusion we have been transported into the world of the imagination, as Shakespeare intended us to be. We have seen with the eye of the poet and escaped the confines of the theatre, whether it be Shakespeare's "woodn O" or our Broadway playhouses. There is no crude film trickery here; the mechanics of long shot, close shot, close-up, and dissolve become utterly natural, almost imperceptible, like chiaroscuro in painting or transition in poetry. The ultimate secret of this film is that it matches Shakespeare's style, the style of the author and the style of the early fifteenth century setting. It has, besides, a style of its own. All of it is wonderfully human, endowing characters with reality and sympathy from the somewhat senile feebleness of the French King to the lowly soldier who moves the English King's heart during the night-watch.

That the *Henry V* picture is bound to prove a stimulus to film

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making in Hollywood is far less certain than that it will enrich the enjoyment of Shakespeare wherever it will be shown. It will do more for dramatic literature than all the copybooks of all the schools. The brief picturization of how a play was produced at the Globe will bring students closer to an understanding of the Shakespearean stage than their teachers have ever been able to bring them. Even the text of the play, cut with such judiciousness that even scholars will not carp, will become more alive than it could have possibly been for those of us who know the text well. However, there is no necessity to promote *Henry V* as education. It is sheer delight for two and a quarter hours.

After this panegyric, the report on the Old Vic's visit to these shores must sound tame and anticlimactic. This will be unfair to the worthy English repertory company whose six weeks' program at the large Century Theatre was a sell-out at the box office and was expected to be the major cultural event in New York during this or any other season within recent memory. Its noble history since 1880 under the management of the social reformer Emma Cons and her talented niece Lilian Baylis (the company gets its name from the Royal Victory Hall in Lambeth, which was nearly destroyed by a bomb in 1941) was never so glorified as it became in 1944 when Laurence Olivier and Ralph Richardson joined forces, after their release from the Air Force. With John Burrell they brought the Old Vic repertory to notable heights. Remaining true to its Shakespearean tradition with their memorable production of the two parts of *Henry IV,* they also followed in the tracks of the earlier brilliant 1933-44 regime of Tyrone Guthrie who broke the Shakespeare monopoly with his productions of Ibsen, Chekhov and Shaw. Their New York repertory has consisted not only of *Henry IV* given in two parts but Chekhov's mournful comedy *Uncle Vanya,* Sheridan's delightful spoof on eighteenth century theatre *The Critic,* and, most notably, Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in the William Butler Yeats' translation. Altogether a feast to the starved theatre-goer. It is regrettable only that other large cities have not had a chance to share it.

The Old Vic has not been spared criticism. Its fame had been bruited about so strenuously that it was bound to run the gauntlet; New York wanted to be shown. The *Uncle Vanya* production was generally disapproved. The ensemble acting in all the plays was found to be imperfect; the company was uneven and some of the actors were not entirely up to their parts. Even their delivery fell short of what is expected of British actors. The scenery and the lighting were unremarkable; the costuming was undistinguished. Most of these complaints can be confirmed even with due allowance for the unfavorable size of the theatre in which they had to play. But they brought us Shakespeare! In *Henry IV* they brought him complete and undefiled; and with the greatest Falstaff (Ralph Richardson) and the greatest Hotspur (Olivier, who was the Henry V of the film and even greater in that role) we have seen.

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To describe the Falstaff would require an essay in itself. But here, in spite of a costume that was not irreproachable, we had not only the fat man who lards the earth as he walks, but the rascal of imperishable wit and indomitable realism, the roisterer who refuses to submit to old age, the hedonist and the cynic, and withall the imperious knight who retains his dignity and individuality in the face of heir apparent, Chief Justice of England, country justice Shallow (whom he can mulct with disdain), and the world in general. Against him, by contrast, is set Olivier's Hotspur, the thick-speaking impassioned Romanticist. King-baiter, warrior and lover with equal bravura but without pretentiousness; tragically enmeshed by his own spirit, abandoned by his father Northumberland, deceived by his uncle; his meteoric life was extinguished in its luminous youth.

It is unfortunate only that Olivier could not play Prince Hal as well. That rôle was filled by the hard-working, earnest Michael Warre with insufficient color and deftness; to be precise, with too much stiffness, too much callousness of personality and too weak command of his lines. But there were compensations from Harry Andrews' impressive Owen Glendower, William Monk's bluff Douglas, Margaret Leighton's spirited Lady Percy, Diana Maddox's most moving, Welsh-speaking Lady Mortimer; and in the second part of *Henry IV,* Olivier's Justice Shallow and Joyce Redman's gloriously debauched, rag-doll tart Doll Tearsheet, who moved as if alcohol had dissolved every bone in her body. These actors and others, and the general production, of course, made *Henry IV,* Part One the exciting chronicle of England that it is. They made the Glendower scene, especially the parting of his daughter with Mortimer, one of the most memorable scenes in our English-speaking theatre. They could not make the second *Henry IV* play better than it is, with Hotspur dead, the feudal revolts unexciting, and both suspense and action generally mild. But they gave us a tavern scene with Falstaff and Doll Tearsheet that will not be forgotten. Ralph Richardson brought Falstaff to another peak of triumph in the banishment scene in which the fat knight touches tragedy on the heights.

The Old Vic's *Uncle Vanya* cannot be judged fairly because Chekhov's quiet tragi-comedy came to us through a veil of Britishisms, and anyhow much of it was lost in the great barn filled with uncomfortable spectators. I suspect, however, that it was better than it seemed. Even a cantankerous playgoer must have carried home with him some glowing memories of a fine second act; of Olivier's Dr. Astrov, the intellectual who withers at the root in the meager provincial soil; of Margaret Leighton's beautifully bored Yelena.

Concerning the third bill, consisting of *The Critic* and *Oedipus,* there could be no cavilling; the Old Vic completed its New York repertory in a blaze of glory. Of the former, little need be said that is not encompassed by the report that this short play glittered to a degree that would have warmed Robert Brinsley

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Sheridan's heart. Here Laurence Olivier shone as Mr. Puff the predecessor of all public relations men. He was the perfect dandy and the epitome of invincible vanity in knee-breeches and powdered wig. Ralph Richardson obliged with a bit as Burleigh which makes him the finest pantomimist next to Charles Chaplin and Harpo Marx.

Of *Oedipus* it can be reported without qualification that never before had a Greek play proved so overwhelming on our stage, and that Olivier's performance as the passionate fate-entangled king of Thebes gave us the greatest acting of the season in spite of a few movements that were perhaps a bit too stagey. No one who was present will forget the two deep-throated animal cries with which he responded to the discovery of his parricide and incest, or shake the memory of his appearance on the stage with blood-soaked eyes (although the make-up glittered a little too artificially in the kleig lights). Again the supporting cast was unequal in some key spots; both the Creon and the Jocasta failed us. But there were compensations in the excellent chorus which would have been still better if all the choral passages had not been spoken in unison. And it was downright inspiration for the scene designer John Piper to set the action against a background of grotesquely primitive statues. This *Oedipus* was rooted in the primeval — both in primeval society and primeval consciousness. Nothing more universal, more suspensive and more harrowing has been set upon our stage or probably on any stage. And on this note of triumph we may conclude our report, concluding also that the month of May has shown many thousands of staid theatre-goers what theatre can really be, and how much we miss because it generally isn't.

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• "Saito is an old man (75), a Yale alumnus, but nevertheless has a clear mind and is concise and direct".—Hanson Baldwin on Japanese statesmen. (Mr. Baldwin, curiously enough, went not to Harvard but to West Point.)

• A wealthy young Boston matron finally managed to secure a maid—a Laplander. In the course of the interview, she revealed that she could neither cook, clean, take care of the children, nor do the laundry. "But, my dear, what can you do?" the baffled matron asked. "I can milk reindeer", the young Lap replied proudly.

• The editor of a small Southern newspaper reproved his cub reporter for being verbose. The next day the cub handed in the following obituary:

"Howard Jones, prominent merchant of this city, was walking along the street this morning, when he suddenly clasped his hands to his heart and said, 'I'm going to die!' Then he leaned against a fence and made good."

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# The International Scene

The world drifted through another month of the post-war but not-yet-peace period. Old controversies remained controversial, stubborn problems were aired and put back in the same pigeonholes, and the great powers of the world seemed as far apart as they were in the horse and buggy days. Optimism reached a new low.

## DIPLOMATIC RETREAT

Secretary of State James F. Byrnes finally made the suggestion. With Vyacheslaff M. Molotov, Georges Bidault and Ernest Bevin, he had been seeking a solution to the perplexing problems which faced the Big Four nations. In the three weeks of discussion and disagreement in Paris little concrete headway had been made. The Soviet Union still wanted Trieste to go to Yugoslavia and Great Britain and the United States thought otherwise. The United States wanted a general peace conference called during the summer even if there was no preliminary agreement among the foreign ministers: the Soviet Union thought not. And so it went. Consequently Secretary Byrnes suggested that the conference recess for a month and renew its efforts on June 15. Welcoming temporary relief, the others seconded his motion.

While the deputies in Paris kept alive the unsuccessful meeting, their superiors tried to explain the deadlock. In his report to the nation, Secretary Byrnes explained the attitude of the United States: "In our relations with foreign governments we have but one policy, the policy of the United States . . . We must try not to impose our will on others, but we must make sure that others do not get the impression that they can impose their will upon us." He outlined three steps for the United States. (1) At the next meeting, the United States will "make every effort to reach agreement on fundamental issues." (2) Whether or not the Big Four reach any preliminary agreement, the United States will demand the convening of a general peace conference on July 1 or July 15. (3) If a general conference is not called, the United States will place the problem of peace settlements before the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Where the United States feared the "expansionism" of the Soviet Union, that country was wary of possible "encirclement" led by an "imperialist" America. In his review of the Paris conference, as well his reply to Secretary Byrnes, Foreign Commissar Molotov charged that the United States and Great Britain tried "to impose their will upon the Soviet Union." He stated further that the Anglo-American "bloc" did not "wage an offensive for peace, but an offensive against the Soviet Union." With such mutual tension, it hardly seems likely that the foreign ministers will re-convene in a cooperative spirit.



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## INCOMPATIBLE SPAIN

Though appointed for that purpose, the United Nations subcommittee members investigating Spain could not agree whether or not Franco was a threat to world peace and security. The problem had been turned over to them by the Security Council after Poland brought up the question and the Soviet Union demanded that something be done about it. The United States and others had favored an investigation before any action was taken and persuaded the accusers to adopt this course.

For a month the five man subcommittee studied the material presented to it by Great Britain, the United States, Russia, Brazil, Belgium, France and the exiled Spanish regime. They listened to Dr. José Giral y Pereira, Premier of the Spanish Republican Government in Exile, testify that Franco's government was a "fascist regime geared for war" and that the Spanish citizens were encouraged to bear arms against a possible attack by the Soviet Union. The five men also heard constant protestations and cries of "intervention" from Franco himself. Reports from scientific sources indicated that there was little possibility of real atomic research being carried on in Spain.

On June 1, the committee released its report. It recommended that the Security Council condemn the Franco government and call upon the Spanish people to set up a democratic government by peaceful means. If this were not done and Franco were still in power in September, the committee suggested that the General Assembly instruct all 51 United Nations members to break diplomatic relations with Spain.

In its New York headquarters, the Security Council also tended to some old business; namely, the Soviet-Iranian dispute. On May 21, Iran officially informed the Security Council that Russian troops had evacuated Azerbaijan by May 6, as was scheduled. Several days later the Moscow radio announced that full evacuation of Russian troops had been completed by May 9—this being the first confirmation of the move by the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, however, the Security Council without Russia voted to keep the Iranian controversy on the agenda for an indefinite period.

## WEST OF THE IRON CURTAIN

Democracy, the western version, emerged triumphant on June 2 when the people of France, for the second time within a month, and of Italy, for the first time in 25 years, participated in free elections. In one case the Communists went down in defeat; in the other, the Monarchists; in any case, the defeated parties made strange bedfellows.

In France it was a question of the constitution. Last October a constituent assembly had been elected to draw up the laws for the Fourth French Republic. This body had no majority party but the largest number of seats were held by the Communists; the distribution being—Communists,



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155; Popular Republicans, 148; Socialists, 137; other parties, 96. With increasing opposition from the Popular Republicans, the Communists and Socialists, working together, had put through a constitution which concentrated power in the legislative body. This, the others thought, would not lead to a stable government. Consequently when the constitution was made the subject of a national referendum on May 5, it was rejected.

Under a pre-arranged plan, this meant that a new constituent assembly would have to be elected. Thus the elections of June 2. In the campaign preceding the voting, old antagonisms between the Socialists and the Communists split that combination and the contest really boiled down to the Communists vs. the other parties. For this reason the elections assumed an importance which reached far beyond the borders of France and aroused the interest of the world in general and the Soviet Union in particular. How great was the influence of Russia and the Communists?

One answer came on June 2 when the Popular Republicans replaced the Communists as the largest group in the assembly: Popular Republicans, 162; Communists, 150; Socialists, 122; others, 94. The program of the Popular Republicans was indicated by their leader, Georges Bidault, also Foreign Minister, who called for a government of national union based on the social program of the National Council of Resistance, which demands drastic reforms. Apparently the people of France prefer reform by moderate rather than extreme methods and under democracy rather than communism.

## LONG LIVE THE KING

In Italy it was also a question of a constitution. But in addition it was a question of a monarchy. On May 9, King Victor Emmanuel III, stained by his rule over a fascist Italy, abdicated after 45 years and five months on the throne. In his place the Crown Prince became Humbert II, King of Italy, King of Sardinia, King of Cyprus, Jerusalem and Armenia and Duke of Savoy. But his reign was destined to be short. In the voting which began on June 2 and was extended to noon of the following day, the Italian people declared themselves in favor of a republic. The results were not overwhelmingly republican but were decisively so—about 54 per cent favored the republic and 46 the monarchy. In Naples, Pisa and Rome, violent monarchist demonstrations took place and extremists in the south demanded that southern Italy secede and establish a separate kingdom. Strong opposition, however, is expected to be short-lived.

Less controversial than the plebiscite on the monarchy, the election of the constituent assembly was similar to that in France. Like the Popular Republicans, the moderate Christian Democrats emerged as the strongest single party in the assembly but without a majority: Christian Democrats, 196; Socialists, 116; Communists, 107; others, 141. Although the strongest party, the Christian Democrats will have to contend with the combination of the Socialists and the Communists, who are at the moment, cooperating. Until June 24, Premier Alfredo de Gasperi, Christian

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# *Fifty Years of Forum*
# *1896 -:- 1946*

1896—a year to be remembered for its presidential election, the McKinley vs. Bryan campaign, the free silver issue, the Cuban insurrection, and the great dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain, which brought out the Monroe Doctrine for a controversial airing. Behind the big issues in FORUM, in 1896, a comedy of attitudes and manners is unfolded for the sympathy and amusement of the casual reader.

*"When I consider the condition of affairs this moment over the whole country, in football alone, I am compelled to acknowledge that it is a criticism of the severest kind on the morality of the young men of America." Casper Whitney's views are quoted in "Some Aspects of Civilization in America."*

The importance of the "German Vote" in American politics comes up for discussion. "The magnitude of the (German-American citizens') vote is always spoken of most respectfully, and among the most valued bait in the average candidate's outfit there will invariably be found an affable recognition of the deliciousness and invigorating qualities of beer, a eulogy of German family life, a cordial praise of gymnastics, of target shooting, and of the deep, rich harmonies of a male chorus."

*One irate contributor deplores the level to which the churches of the United States sink in their entertainment. "Female Minstrel Shows have been this year the most popular of church entertainments in Massachusetts." A clergyman, Thomas P. Hughes, views the American theater in '96 . . . "another phase . . . for our entertainment, is the realistic drama, such as 'Beau Brummell,' 'The Prisoner of Zenda'."*

"Strangers in the United States wonder that her ablest men are not her public men . . . the explanation lies in the fact that party politics afford no congenial field to the really able and highly honorable citizen," comments a critic of the American Ballot.

*Edward P. Clark reviews the political situation in the South in the years since the Civil War and is immensely cheered by the fact that several southern states are "doubtful" in the closing presidential election. He states that "the outlook for the future was never so promising as now, when the 'Solid South' is dissolving."*



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Democrat, and his six-party coalition government will remain in office. On that date the constituent assembly will appoint a provisional Chief of State.

## MATURE DEPENDENTS

The time has come, Great Britain feels, to replace dependence with independence and to place relations with Egypt and India on a level of friendship rather than subordination. Although his predecessor refused to supervise the dissolution of the British Empire, Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee's duties seem to be heading that way. Independence for Egypt and for India has reached the negotiation stage.

On the eve of the Anglo-Egyptian discussions on the revision of the treaty of 1936, an announcement was made in Cairo and in London. "The government of the United Kingdom have proposed to withdraw all British naval, military and air forces from Egyptian territory." The proposal, although it aroused the wrath of the Conservatives who attacked it as the "unbuttoning of the British Empire," won the approval of the rest of the House of Commons. Its execution will mark the end of a period of 64 years during which time British troops were continually stationed in Egyptian territory to guard the empire's lifeline. Great objection came from Australia who fought in two wars to preserve communications with Great Britain through the Mediterranean. Coming immediately before the opening of the bilateral talks, the move was interpreted as a conciliatory move toward the Egyptian nationalists on the part of the Labor government. But it does not mean that the British intend to withdraw entirely from the Eastern Mediterranean without the assurance of an "emergency" base in Egypt.

Although still lined with refusals and disagreement, progress has been made toward a settlement of Indian affairs. After the failure of the recent talks between Ali Jinnah, president of the Moslem League, and representatives of the Congress party under the auspices of a special British mission, despair set in. But the Indian leaders were at last convinced that Great Britain really meant to give India her independence.

The British mission, meanwhile, offered a plan for an interim Indian government. This plan suggests the broad outline of the final political structure based on a loose federation of state and provinces. A "union center" would direct foreign affairs, national defense and communications but all other matters would be left to the states. Although not including Jinnah's plan for a separate Moslem state, a complicated system would be set up to protect Moslem interests. Jinnah himself voiced an affirmative interest. Opposition, however, came from the other side: the Congress party on June 10 rejected the British plan on the grounds that it wanted seven of the 12 seats on the executive council to the Moslems' five. Further endorsement of the mission's proposal came from a meeting of the Indian princes. Similarly further objection was given by the Sikh community.

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## REUNION

First it was a strong anti-Communist feeling in Buenos Aires, then it was Moscow's disapproval of "Argentine fascism" that accounted for the 28-year rift between the Soviet Union and Argentina. On June 6, 1946, two days after he was inaugurated, President Juan Perón announced that diplomatic relations, broken in February, 1918, had been resumed with the Soviet Union. That such a move was imminent was forecast by the presence in Buenos Aires of a Russian trade delegation. One reason given for the resumption of relations is that Perón will use it to encourage some relaxation in the attitude of the United States toward him. Others attribute the move to the desire of the Soviet Union for another foothold in the Western Hemisphere. Perón also may have ideas about playing Moscow against Washington.

## THE KING IS DEAD

As the body of King Ananda Mahidol lay in state in the Hall of Kings, the government of Siam decreed a year of mourning for the country. His death had come as a shock to the Siamese people. The young king—although he had ruled Siam since 1935, he was still only 20—was found dead on the morning of June 9 in a bedroom of the Barompinan Palace in Bangkok with a bullet wound in his head. Death was officially determined as accidental, the result of a shot from a 45-calibre Colt automatic. Later in the week the young king had planned to fly to the United States before resuming his studies in Switzerland.

With a "Cha Yo, Cha Yo, Cha Yo" (the Siamese hurrah), the legislature unanimously selected Phumiphon Aduldet, 18-year-old brother of the late king, as the new ruler of Siam.

## "LAFAYETTE, WE ARE HERE"

After 11 weeks of negotiations between Leon Blum, special French emissary, and American officials, a financial agreement was signed between the two countries. The United States has agreed to grant France $1,370,000,000 economic aid. This is divided into two parts: (1) a $650,000,000 loan from the Export-Import Bank at three per cent interest to finance French purchases in the United States, and (2) a $720,000,000 credit at two per cent to take care of French purchases on American surpluses in France and to settle lend-lease. In return France has agreed to support the American program for free world trade.

## TRAITOR OR PATRIOT

About 1000 spectators and 100 foreign and Yugoslav journalists crowded into the opening of the trial of General Draja Mikhailovitch, Chetnik leader, on June 10. Drawn up by Marshal Tito's government, the indictment accused Mikhailovitch of treason and collaboration with the enemy. Formerly Minister of War under King Peter, he had been left behind for the announced purpose of waging underground warfare against

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the Nazi invaders. According to the indictment, Mikhailovitch instead led an offensive against Marshal Tito's National Liberation Army and sought German cooperation whenever it was necessary.

The whole affair points Mikhailovitch out as a victim of circumstances which are beyond his control and indicates that his conviction is only a matter of time. Already in the proceedings, Mikhailovitch admitted that he had had dealings with the Germans and the Yugoslav puppet government in 1941 but stated that he was trying to lure quizlings to his side. Asked how he would plead his case, he said that he did "not feel guilty." However, the trial concerns more than what meets the eye. There was, for instance, this conversation:

Mikhailovitch—"There is very much material for my defense which is not available to me."

The court—"Where is it?"

"You took it."

# The Domestic Scene

Uncle Sam last month received the old one-two straight to the jaw. Just before he became punch-drunk, the round ended with the settlement of the rail and coal strikes. But then the maritime strike threatened to take the fight into another drastic round.

With the end of the anthracite coal strike on June 7, the country was without a major strike for the first time since November, when the workers of General Motors led off. But the inventory of the costs, direct and secondary, of labor disputes was high. Government officials estimated that in the first four months of 1946 strikes wasted 70,200,000 man-days; 1,060,000 automobiles were not produced, 90,000,000 tons of coal remained unmined and 13,000,000 tons of steel unproduced. The coal strike alone cost the country $2,000,000,000.

The soft coal strike started on April Fool's Day. It ended on Memorial Day, when John L. Lewis, for the miners, and J. A. Krug, for the government, signed a contract. The big question was whether or not the operators would put their "John Hancock" on the same agreement. They have indicated that they will not do so until higher prices are granted for coal. Until that time, the government is in the mining business.

The terms of the contract granted a 45-hour week as opposed to the prevailing 54 hours. A health and retirement fund was set up, to be financed by a five cent royalty on each ton of coal mined. Lewis had demanded that the union alone control this fund, but the final agreement provided for control vested in a representative of the union, a representative of the government (or the owners when they resume ownership) and a third director selected by the two parties jointly. A medical fund was also established, but this is to be financed and directed solely by the miners. Mandatory compliance with the Federal Mining Safety Code, stricter than the codes of most states, was incorporated in the contract, as was the recognition of the right of foremen to join unions.

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Undoubtedly a good case could be made justifying each of the above provisions. Some of them were long overdue. But the nation wondered whether they were worth 59 days of lost coal production.

In comparison with the extended coal dispute, the railroad strike was brief. After a false spasm of labor pains on May 18, the strike was born on May 23 and was bludgeoned to death by the government two days later. Yet any river dweller knows that flash floods are often the most expensive. The strike threatened to bring the nation's entire economy to a standstill, and President Truman set out to prove that the government was bigger than any of its private groups. Whether he was successful will be debated by theorists, politicians and economists for the next year.

## PUNITIVE OR REMEDIAL

After government seizure of the railroads failed to avert the strike, and after two days of feeling the pinch, people demanded that the government "do something," though few cared to define what the "something" should be. The President did two things. On May 24, when the strike had been going on for more than 24 hours, he took to the air, publicly castigated the two union leaders, called the walkout a strike against the government and warned that the government would take drastic action if the trains were not running by the following afternoon.

The following afternoon he appeared before a joint session of Congress and amid loud cheers called for stringent temporary emergency legislation. In the middle of his prepared speech he received and announced a "flash" that the strike was over. The government had spoken, the threatened disaster was averted, and many Americans sighed with relief. But afterthoughts and post mortems changed this simple picture.

A number of questions pointed to embarrassing answers. Why did the President lash out at two respected labor leaders, Alvanley Johnston and A. F. Whitney (whose unions have struck for the first time in some 20 years) while ignoring completely John L. Lewis and his two months' coal strike? The rail strike had been settled before the President's request for emergency labor legislation. Did the President know of the settlement before he began his speech? If not, why didn't he? If so, why did he continue in his address to spank publicly the two union leaders? What truth is there in the contention of the unions that they were double-crossed, that the first postponement of the strike was made on the presidential promise that the railroad operators would resume negotiations with the unions and that the labor leaders, acting on this assurance, received nothing but a runaround from government negotiators and railroad operators? More fundamentally, was the strike inevitable, or merely the tragic result of bungling?

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## STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

"When the President of the United States, by one speech, can succeed in getting Claude Pepper and Taft and the Communist *Daily Worker* and *The Wall Street Journal* all in accord, the country is perfectly safe."

Accepting this premise, Truman should go down in history as the saviour of his country. His proposed emergency labor legislation, passed in record-breaking time by the House, united bitterly opposed groups into a single front of opposition.

The President's proposal had these salient points: In the event of a strike in an "essential" industry (to be determined by the President) which threatened to disrupt the nation's economy, the President, after seizure, could request the workers to return to their jobs. If this request were not heeded, the workers would be considered to have voluntarily terminated their employment in that industry, with consequent loss of rights under the Wagner Act. The President also asked for power to draft, if necessary, all workers who refused to return to work. Criminal penalties were established for labor leaders urging and giving assistance to men striking against government-seized plants. (This provision would seem a bit unnecessary, since the Smith-Connally Act has similar penalties.) For the period of government ownership, federal authorities would set wages and working conditions. Any profits which occur during government operation would be turned over to the U. S. Treasury. The temporary act is to expire six months after the official end of hostilities.

The Senate was not as gentle with the measure, which the House, undeterred by its drastic provisions, quickly passed. In rapid succession it killed the draft provision, the clause concerning loss of seniority rights and the provision concerning disposition of profits during government operation. The bill seemed, to all intents and purposes, to be dead by mid-June. However, the maritime strike, scheduled for June 15, might restore the bill to its original strength, just as the coal and rail strike brought forth the House-approved Case Bill from the Senate committee which was starving it to death.

## HOT POTATO

The President was on the horns of a dilemma. In his speech to Congress on May 25, he suggested, in addition to his temporary proposal, a congressional study of the whole field of labor-management relations. Instead he had the Case Bill dumped on his desk. Conceived in haste and anger, it was no permanent solution. The measure was full of contradictions, ambiguities and misconceptions, although probably no other type of labor legislation was possible this year, the bill could nevertheless make or break the Democratic party.

The President was fully aware of his between-the-devil-and-deep-blue-sea position. He waited for the full 10 days before deciding whether to sign the measure, veto it or let it pass without his approval. If he had signed the measure, there was a real threat that organized labor, fighting

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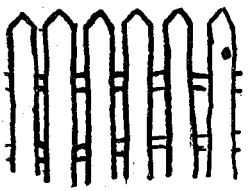
# *You Can't Afford To Sit on the Fence!*



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mad already over his emergency program, would bolt the Democratic party and start a third party. If he had accepted the advice of his labor advisers, who pointed out the many flaws in the bill, and vetoed it, many irate citizens and most of the newspapers would have screamed that he had once again bowed to labor demands.

After almost two weeks of thought, hearing arguments pro and con, listening to labor and political advisors, on June 11 President Truman vetoed the Case Bill. In his message to Congress he said that the measure hit at symptoms and ignored the underlying causes of industrial strife. "Not one of the major disputes which have caused such great public concern during the past months would have been affected in any way by this bill had it been the law at the time," he asserted. The proposed Federal Mediation Board, he said, could assume jurisdiction "to outlaw" strikes and then wind up with the "anti-climax of nothing." He argued that this Board would be inconsistent with the principles of good administration and would assume responsibilities which should be reserved for Cabinet members who in turn are responsible to the President.

The House at once sustained the veto, with 135 members supporting the President and 255 voting to pass the bill. For the necessary two-thirds to override a veto 260 Representatives would have had to vote against it.

There were no indications, however, that Congress would heed the presidential recommendation in his veto message that permanent labor control legislation await six months' study for a re-orientation on basic causes of labor strife.

## UPSY-DAISY

The administration's favorite game of musical chairs was in operation again last month, with old faces shifting positions and newcomers getting in on the game. In his 15 months in office, the President has made nine appointments to his Cabinet, named two Supreme Court justices and filled nearly a dozen other posts.

Within one week last month five of these appointments were made. All could be classed as "sound" and "sensible." All had had good previous experience in public affairs. The colorful appointments of the Roosevelt era were a thing of the past; Truman maintained his reputation for appointing conservative, "middle of the road" men.

Probably the most important appointment was that of Secretary of the Treasury Vinson as the new Chief Justice. Fifty-five-year-old Vinson, now becomes the thirteenth Chief Justice, filling the vacancy left by the death in April of Harlan Fiske Stone. Vinson's past experience in public affairs is broad and varied. He served six terms in the House, was appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1938. Five years later he became Director of Economic Stabilization. In 1945 he was Federal Loan Administrator. Then he became director of War Mobilization, and in August of the same year he became Secretary of the Treasury. Perhaps now he will stay put.

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The appointment of John Snyder as Secretary of the Treasury caused no surprise. This made the third straight time that he has stepped into the cast-off shoes of Vinson. In the absence of any vice-president, Snyder is now second in line of succession to the presidency. His appointment is considered a victory for the conservative Democrats.

The appointment of Assistant Secretary of the Navy John K. Sullivan as Under Secretary likewise caused no surprise. This is the position that Edwin Pauley lost.

The two positions in the international field went to Republicans. Senator Warren Austin, of Vermont, received what President Truman once called the highest post that a president could give a citizen—the American representative to the United Nations Security Council. He succeeds Edward R. Stettinius, who reportedly resigned because he found himself with too little responsibility and discretion. Austin long ago made himself conspicuous by being one of the few Senators to advocate before Pearl Harbor full American participation in world affairs. He was one of the authors of the 1940 Selective Service Act and became a confidential advisor to Cordell Hull.

The last appointment was that of Eugene Meyers, publisher of *The Washington Post* and one of the first directors of the R.F.C., who was named head of the International Bank, established in the Bretton Woods agreements.

## J'ACCUSE

The new Chief Justice found himself heading a court not only divided in philosophy but also split by personal animosity. The long-smouldering, undercover conflict burst into flame on June 10. From Nuremberg, where Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson is chief American war crimes prosecutor, came a blistering accusation that Associate Justice Hugo Black was waging an underground war against Jackson.

Black, said Jackson, had sat in on a labor case in which his former law partner represented one of the parties. In a six-page typed statement, addressed to the chairmen of the Senate and House Judiciary Committees, Jackson said that Black tried to "bully" the Court into at least tacit approval of his (Black's) sitting in the case. Jackson accused Black and others of spreading stories of the resulting feud. "I have considered that the attacks upon me during my absence cannot, in fairness to my future work on the Court, be left unanswered and that the responsible committees of Congress are entitled to the facts."

He waited until now, he said, to defend himself against the "war" which Black and others were waging against him because his name was widely mentioned for the chief justiceship and he wanted to avoid the appearance of "pleading for the post." The war apparently consisted of threats by several justices to resign if Jackson was appointed Chief Justice.

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Jackson had nothing but praise for the new Chief Justice. The reason for his accusations, he said, was because "it is desirable to get the controversy all back of us now so that he (Vinson) can take up his tasks without a cloud hanging over the court."

Justice Black made no immediate comment. The need for a congressional investigation was suggested at once.

## LONG OVERDUE

On June 10 it appeared as though that rare animal, congressional re-organization, might be brought into captivity. On that date the Senate passed and sent to the House a bill to streamline congressional machinery, provide a pension system for senators and representatives and raise their salaries from $10,000 to $15,000.

The main provisions would consolidate the duties of standing committees, reducing the number from 33 to 15, limit the number of committees on which a member may serve and permit joint committee sessions. Committees would be empowered to appoint four professional staff members in addition to the regular clerical staff, and would receive subpoena power and expense accounts to make investigations. Special investigating committees would be banned.

The measure also provides for an $8,000-a-year administrative assistant for each congressman, requires the registration of lobbyists, sets up majority and minority policy committees, establishes a Joint Legislative Executive Council for closer liaison with the White House, and amends certain laws to reduce the work of Congress with respect to authorization of claims against the government and construction of bridges.

Yet for these benefits some things had to be sacrificed. For a while it looked as though the proposed office of Congressional Personnel, the director of which would hire and fire legislative employees on a merit basis, would be the bill's undoing. The Senate resented having this patronage plum plucked from beneath their eyes and with their approval. Only when Senator LaFollette, father of the bill, agreed to eliminate the anti-patronage provision did the bill pass.

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• An Arguer lived in a small town, and whatever anyone said he disagreed with. One of the local drug store cowboys remarked: "I hear tell that Cy Smith over at Boomtown was one of 19 sons."

"That's whar ye heard wrong, then," the Arguer replied. "Twan't Cy Smith at all. 'Twas a brother of his'n."

• "Dolly, I was very disappointed in your examination," the child's teacher said. "Didn't you tell me your father promised you a bicycle if you came out at the top?"

"Yes," Dolly said miserably.

"Then why didn't you work harder?" the teacher asked. "What have you been doing all this time?"

"Learning to ride a bike," answered Dolly.

*Pearson's Weekly*

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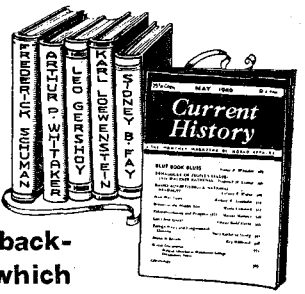


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# FORUM FEATURES

Specialization has become one of our permanent characteristics. The general practitioner, like the general scholar, is a thing of the past. In a government "of the people", where do these experts belong? What should be their rôle? With these questions in mind, we are beginning a series of articles on the problem. The first one, "The Expert in Government," is by **Otto F. Kraushaar,** who has recently returned from overseas service to Smith College, where he is Professor of Philosophy. The second article, which will appear in the August issue, will be written by **Monroe Beardsley,** of Mount Holyoke College.

**Wolfgang von Eckardt** bases his article, "Germany: East or West?" on a study of the Communist plan for Germany, as manifested in the present activities of German Communists in the Russian zone. Son of a distiguished sociologist at Heidelberg University, Von Eckardt undertook interesting intelligence assignments during the war as a Lieutenant in the American Army. Now he is working for Allen W. Dulles, former O.S.S. head in Switzerland.

Author of a biography of Emily Dickinson, **This Was a Poet,** and a critical study of Thoreau, **Walden Revisited, George Whicher** teaches English at Amherst College. In connection with Amherst's 125th Anniversary this June, he edited an undergraduate diary of a century ago. His **Goliard Rhymes,** a book of translations from medieval Latin lyrics by the wandering scholars, is to be published in the fall.

**Robert P. Tristram Coffin** grew up on a Maine saltwater farm, went to a rural red-brick schoolhouse, to Bowdoin, Princeton and then to Oxford, where he was a Rhodes Scholar just before and after his two years in World War I. At that time he began to make himself known as a poet, an essayist and as an illustrator in the pages of the old FORUM. Pierce Professor of English at Bowdoin, Mr. Coffin has lectured and read his poems at hundreds of colleges and clubs all over the country. Only a few weeks ago he was made a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, an honor of which he is especially proud.

Congress now has before it a proposition for "sickness insurance." Should this measure be passed? **Kermit Eby,** Director of Education on Research for the C.I.O., says yes. He feels, along with the other proponents of the bill, that the private competitive system has not adequately fulfilled the needs of the nation. On the other hand, **Dr. Morris Fishbein,** one of the foremost spokesmen for organized medicine and editor of the **American Medical Association Journal,** objects to the measure. Feeling that the plan is socialistic, he and his colleagues say that the bill would make civil servants out of doctors, subordinate to the whim of a bureau head in Washington. The subject of this month's Forum has aroused much controversy.

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